WHAT WOULD LINCOLN DO?

A Call for
Political Revolution
Through the Ballot

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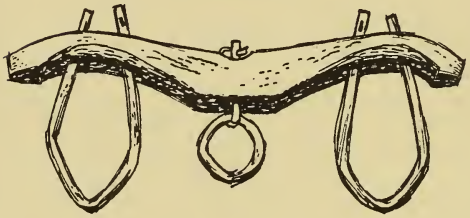

MEMORIAL

the Class of 1901

founded by
HARLAN HOYT HORNER
and
HENRIETTA CALHOUN HORNER

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What Would Lincoln Do?

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A Call for Political Revolution Through the Ballot

by

LESTER P. BARLOW

Mechanical Engineer

The Non-Partisan League Publishing Company, Inc.

STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT

1931

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Lincoln Room

This book is

Nº 1010

The original owner of this book is

L. M. E. J. Payne

With Best Wishes of Thy Writer.

Lester P. Barlow

Oct 11-1936

Stamford Conn

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the splendid men and women farmers of the State of North Dakota, who, in 1916, took the political initiative to gain legal control of their state government, and who after long hours of toil from daybreak until after dark found time to study and organize politically, in order that their ballots might be cast intelligently. Their success with the organization which they founded—The Non-Partisan League — inspired the writing of this book.

PLEDGE

I hereby pledge that if loyal citizens of our land will form a national political organization to be known as The Non-Partisan League of America and will adopt for such organization a constitution and a platform in keeping with the general objectives set forth in this book, I will arrange to have assigned all net profits from the sale of this book to the campaign fund of The Non-Partisan League of America. With the co-operation of loyal citizens this book may produce considerable revenue to the campaign fund of The Non-Partisan League of America.

I did not write this book for commercial purposes or for private profit, but I do intend that it be one of the instruments to be used in the re-establishment of the constitutional form of government intended by the founders of our country.

LESTER P. BARLOW.

FOREWORD

In the character of Abraham Lincoln, we vision the personification which encompasses the practical ideals of men.

Instinctively men set up standards by which they may gauge the degrees of right or wrong, according to their understanding.

Millions of us have accepted Lincoln as one of our gauges when determining the standards of men and their acts. When we gaze upon the likeness of Lincoln, much of which we have in the way of photographs and in images of bronze and marble, we consciously or unconsciously appeal to the spirit of Lincoln for guidance in our decisions in those things which pertain to the rights of others.

I have written a few articles—just a very few. This is my first attempt, and for all I know my last attempt, at writing a book. I have often thought of writing a book in order that I might express fully, through a written record, my opinions in reference to certain public matters. Up until a few weeks ago, I could not bring myself to the point of daring to start to write a book on what seems to me vital social problems. That seemed to me to be a task beyond my capabilities, but on looking back, I could see where I had succeeded in other difficult tasks, so why not write—the economic conditions of the world are bad, the confidence of the people of the nations has been greatly reduced by one vicious assault after another, by what I term "High Finance."

I insist, though perhaps somewhat vainly, that I am one of that class of citizens who may be rightfully called value creating workers. I have reached an age where I can reason seriously, if I ever can. Today, I am in my early forties, and in the fortunate position where economic screws cannot be tightened down upon me. I have no past of shady business dealings to rise up and laugh me down as a hypocrite. I have lived a life full of thrills and business romance. I have traveled far and have seen much.

To me, industry seems a great adventure. I try to conceive of industry as a great game and play it as such. It seems to me that to cheat at the game would deprive one of much of the sport of life. To cheat would result in the loss of the game. There is only one way to win, and that is to play the game straight, and it now seems to me that my next move in this game is to write a book on moves which I have seen made in the past and as to suggestions which I feel I am justified in making in regard to future moves in the game. I know you will agree with me that the best moves are made through well-advanced planning, and with that decision in mind I have decided to commence the task.

As I pursue this task I find moments of doubt and indecision and then I call upon the heritage which is yours and mine—the memory and the records of Lincoln, and I ask the question which you would ask under like circumstances—"What would Lincoln do?" Few of us could achieve what Lincoln might but we can try. The present national crisis makes it imperative that every citizen who truly loves his country now bend every effort to the re-establishment of a high order of national confidence.

None of us can correctly judge ourselves. I believe I know why I attempt to write this book, but whether it be because of vanity, egotism, or what I believe to be duty, is immaterial. What I write in this book is material, and it is up to you to judge its lack of value or its worth.

It seems to me that if you and I had the opportunity to speak with Lincoln, even though he stands beyond, he would advise us thus:

> "In our relations with the family of Governments of the world, it must ever be our aim to stand out as the moral leaders. Before we can, as a Government, assume the role of world leadership, we must cast out of our government affairs political and financial hypocrisy.
>
> "If we would be truly the leaders of nations, we must aim for the day when the citizens of all nations may enjoy the high standards of living of which we boast. We must instill in the minds of the people of all nations the desire and hope to achieve justly deserved material things similar to those which we have created for ourselves. Not as missionaries but as ultra-modern commercial leaders, we

should aid and encourage the people of other nations to gain the level of our standards of living.

"We must plant in their minds the desire for private automobiles for their families—for millions of miles of fine roads—for fine and clean sanitary homes—for bathtubs—for ample and wholesome food—for good clothes—for extensive and beautiful parks—for electric lights—for telephones—for radios—for reasonable leisure—and for recreation and entertainment.

"We must, through our powerful commercial advantage, set for other commercial nations an example for fair dealings. We must wipe treachery and deceit out of our commerce and inspire the leaders of other lands to do likewise. These things must be our high aim, even though they may appear at this time to be idealistic.

"The problems which immediately confront us and the world, and in which we must take the lead, are the outlawing and suppressing of the mad and insane race for armament supremacy before it bankrupts the nations of the world. Civilized people must take control of all governments and destroy all armaments.

"There is perhaps no alternative to the wiping out through voluntary cancellation the colossal international war debts. With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, we must lose no time in finding an amiable solution to this great problem, and we must then win the other nations concerned to that plan. It would be much better if the plan which is finally accepted pieces together the suggestions of the world's nations rather than our own particular plan, but we must prepare to lead the way.

"A problem of the immediate future which is ours to lead in the solving of is the destructive tariff barricades of which our own is perhaps the worst. Much of the claimed reason for the tariff walls will vanish if we can succeed by preaching a doctrine of equity, raise the standards of living of the people of other lands, as when their standards of living goes up their wage compensation must also increase proportionately. By this evolution we will witness the elimination of competition of American workmen with the now lower wage rates in other commercial lands.

"But the greatest task of all and which needs immediate attention, is the emancipation of governments and the commerce of the world, from the dictatorship of 'High Finance' which operates under the title of 'International Bankers.'"

The above I believe Lincoln would say if he should speak to us now. Because of Lincoln and the records which he has left in history, I sincerely believe that democracy is practical and may be achieved where the right of private ownership of property and the right of individual initiative are the major principles in the government structure. Such would seem to be the way to true democracy, and it is more vibrant with hope than the desperate experiments of Communism and Fascism.

I am not afraid for America—I am not afraid for the world —I am not afraid of this so-called depression. Our living future will be thrilling, marvelous and glorious beyond our present powers of conception. We are still on the lower steps of democracy's stairway, but our direction is upward.

Lista P. Barlow

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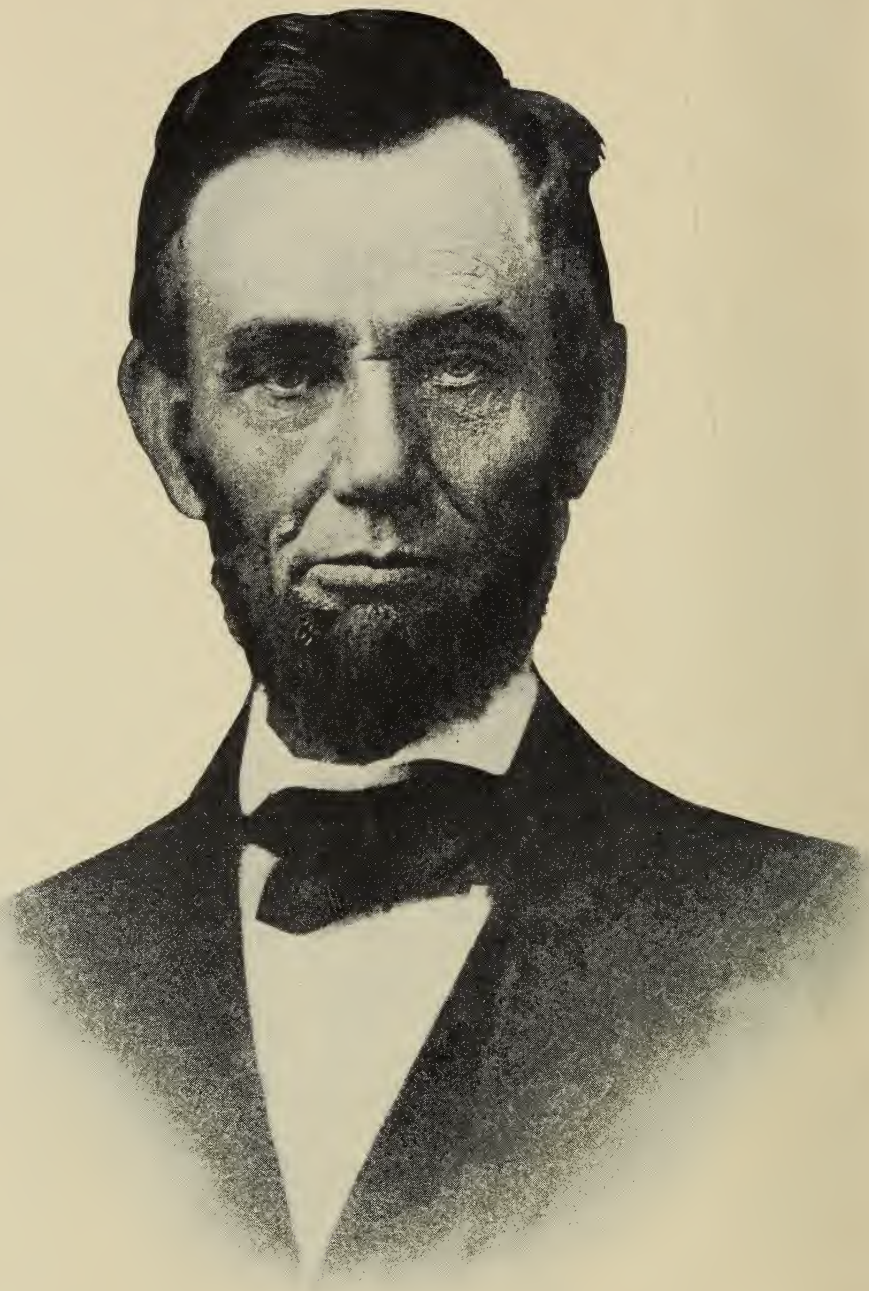


Despotism Challenged

INSPIRED by hope and confidence that a people could be self-governed, great men and women conceived, created and passed on to posterity, a government of free citizens—the United States of America.

The nation of the United States of America still exists. The constitutional government, established under the leadership of Washington and Jefferson, and later maintained by Lincoln, has been overthrown by greed.

We, the citizens of the United States, are no longer free. We are ruled by greed, through its agents—corruption and a gigantic army of financial criminals and political manipulators —all are racketeers.

Racketeering goes far upward, beyond the gun-man of the underworld. Racketeering has climbed to the control of great banking institutions, not only in America, but throughout the world. The so-called international bankers are not bankers at all, but are gigantic financial parasites—ruthless, murderous racketeers. They do not hesitate to promote wars to gain their commercial and financial objectives. In America, racketeers pervade the legislative, the judicial and the administrative divisions of the national and state governments.

Greed in all its hideousness, brazen, murderous, openly unafraid, leers from all directions, challenging and defying America.

The supreme law—self-preservation—dictates our actions. We must meet the challenge of greed and its army of criminals.

Our challenge to the usurpers was written long ago. It was written by our forefathers in 1776. We need only to sweep away the dust to reveal the flawless answer to the criminals and parasites who today prey upon decent citizens.

Generate the actions that the challenge calls for. Put back of it the energy and the co-ordination of all true Americans. Let it flash with the brilliancy of lightning. Let it boom like

the thunder of the heavens. Here, read it! Interpret its meaning! Read from the Declaration of Independence!

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed —That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, then it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Safety."

The above paragraph from the Declaration of Independence is powerful language. It is simply written; there is nothing complicated about it. It should be easily analyzed and understood by all who can read and write. Who will dare to say that it is void and out of date? Who will dare to say that it was not written to inspire protection for the rights of the majority? Who will dare to say that it does not challenge despotism and call upon the majority of the citizens of this nation to destroy the despot and his kind? Who will dare to deny that the gigantic pools of finance are today other than powerful despots, demanding and insisting that the government of the United States shall hold secure their right to control the lives and the destinies of the great mass of the American people?

No less an authority than the Honorable William E. Borah, United States Senator, has recently said that less than four per cent of the people of this nation owned over eighty per cent

of the nation's wealth. If Senator Borah is right, ninety-six per cent of the American people can, if they will, read in the Declaration of Independence that it is their right and duty to revolt against the despotism of "High Finance" and its political gangdom.

Well over one million men have ratified the principles of the Declaration of Independence in giving up their lives in its defense on the field of battle. From beyond the grave they look back upon us. Who will have our reverence—our respect —our loyalty? Greed—or the men who paid to the fullest measure that which liberty could command?

Hundreds of thousands of industrial leaders and business men will welcome the return of the day of the "Golden Rule." The poisoned blood of gangdom now flows through practically all arteries of commerce, weakening through the destruction of the citizens' confidence, the whole commercial structure. The nation's greatest industry—agriculture—has been bled white by criminals and legalized gamblers. Only by superb will can we recover decency and stability.

The publication of this book is with the hope that it will aid in the prevention of violence and rioting in America during the period just ahead of us.

It is now known beyond all doubt by vast numbers of our citizens that this nation is moving aimlessly and without leadership. In addition to those who know this to be a fact, there are many millions of other citizens who are now beginning to realize this awful truth.

During the late World War and since, the American people have been marvelously patient and trustful. The confidence they have placed in the few honest leaders has been extended to the false leaders, with the hope that they also would make good. The time has arrived when the great mass of citizens are admitting against their will that they have been humbugged and double-crossed by many men in high places, whom they have trusted.

The day of reckoning is undoubtedly here. We must not give way to anger and revenge, for to do so would handicap clear thinking. Rioting and violence and the promotion of violent revolution must be prevented. The only shortcut to

recovery and stability is through the ballot. We still have the ballot in America, and there is no need for the American people to stoop to violent revolution. Should violent revolution occur in America, in the end we would have to go back to the ballot box in order to establish legal government.

Therefore, to sidetrack unnecessary misery and to gain in the least possible time our objectives, we must take the short-cut directly through the ballot box.

I have Lincoln as my guide in these opinions. I quote him as he spoke directly, concerning this question:

Excerpt from Lincoln's Message to Congress, July 4th, 1861.

"Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against formidable internal attempts to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world, that those who can fairly carry on an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections."

The Constitution of the United States provides every legal means for the carrying out of revolution, but such revolution must be a political one and through the ballot. Violent revolution could only be excusable when the right of franchise has been taken from the citizens.

The right of private ownership of property and the execution of individual initiative are two great and important principles in the foundation of the American people's ideals in government and society. The abuse of these two great principles by men controlling huge pools of finance, and their direct and indirect control of the political machinery of our government, has caused many of our citizens to lose faith in the belief that a republic such as ours can exist as a true democracy.

We now hear many of our citizens expressing themselves favorably to an extensive plan of State Socialism or to the

establishment of a Soviet Republic of the United States of America, similar to the great Russian experiment.

I am among those who are opposed to both of these plans, as neither could establish the ideals in government which the American people for one hundred and fifty years have been taught to believe are their rightful heritage. Individual liberty and initiative and the right of private ownership, is the road laid out by the founders of this nation. That road leads to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Society moving forward over this road, can be truthfully designated as a society of "Capitalism," and that society I believe in as the best and most practical social plan to achieve the highest ideals within the conception of mortal man.

It is the evils within the Capitalistic system which must be eliminated—not the system.

Criminals claim possession of the ballot box. We must admit it has been our own apathy to our public duties which has permitted the evils to grow to gigantic proportions and to where they seemingly almost overwhelm us; but we must not forget we still, under the law, hold title to the right of franchise through the ballot. We must repossess our franchise, and with it we will advance and destroy the colossal ring of corruption and crime which looms as a black cloud across the whole horizon.

In national economic crises, such as we are now passing through, history proves we are presented with the opportunity to tear out the red-tape, the incompetency, and corruption, and apply our efforts constructively and vigorously. The emergency confronting this nation today is greater than any ever caused by foreign enemies during our national existence.

We have a tremendous task and duty to perform. It can be gloriously accomplished. We must lose no time in getting at the job.

Political revolution through the ballot box is now imperative to restore the constitutional government of the United States of America.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26th, 1867.

"I think the authors of that noble instrument intended to include all men; but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with 'certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that 'all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration not for that but for future use. Its authors meant it to be as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant that when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find for them at least one hard nut to crack."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty

"ETERNAL vigilance is the price of liberty." There are no exceptions to this rule. It works equally as well for organized criminals as it does for organized society. When organized society fails to pay the price for liberty, then, by untiring vigilance, organized criminals, modernly labeled "racketeers," possess it, and with their unchallenged liberty they rapidly extend the scope of their nefarious trade. Through vigilance they lose no time in destroying the governments of society.

By huge expenditures of money, they control elections, and place in office their kind; corrupt government rapidly develops; criminals wear the cloak of judges; other criminals practise as attorneys before the bar; the bar is first intimidated and then controlled by criminals; the laws established by society are twisted beyond all reason to favor and render profit to crime and to free racketeers before the bar. New laws to serve criminals are enacted, under the guise of honesty, by gangdom agents in Congress and the Legislatures.

Through blackmail, extortion and racketeer trade, money is raised to pay enormous bribes. A criminal by the name of Fall, a former member of the Harding cabinet, was convicted for receiving, while a member of that cabinet, a bribe of one hundred thousand dollars. At the time these lines are being written he goes to the Federal Penitentiary as a common criminal, but it took nine long years to legally put him behind the bars. The man who sent Fall that one hundred thousand dollars is free. His wealth is estimated at scores of millions of dollars. Powerful attorneys, members of the American Bar Association, wiggled him out of the mess—the miracle performed—"The camel passing through the eye of the needle," —a difficult miracle, judging from the words of the Lord in the Scriptures.

At the Harding cabinet meetings, enormous oil properties of the government were discussed in reference to transfer

from the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior, under Secretary Fall. He, in turn, after getting control of the oil properties through the transfer, sold the oil properties of the government to high financial and industrial racketeers. Fall was not alone. He was only one of gangdom's agents who sat around the cabinet table of the Harding administration. Coolidge, the Vice-President, sat with that cabinet. Herbert Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes, Andrew Mellon, Harry Dougherty and others sat at those cabinet powwows.

Since the Harding administration a whole decade has passed. On June 16th, 1931, the American people heard for the first time from the lips of one of the men who sat as a member of the Harding cabinet the admission of the crimes and betrayal of the country which then took place. These words were spoken by Herbert Hoover, the President of the United States. Millions of men and women of this country have known all these years that Herbert Hoover knew that the government was being betrayed, while Harding was president, but he had neither the decency nor the courage to tell it until there was no way out, and even then he endeavored to defend the betrayal of the country by Warren G. Harding and his gang, who were obeying the orders of financial criminals.

Here are the words of Herbert Hoover at the tomb of the faithless Harding:

> "Warren Harding had a dim realization that he had been betrayed by a few of the men whom he had trusted, by men whom he had believed were his devoted friends. It was later proven in the courts of the land that these men had betrayed not alone the friendship and trust of their staunch and loyal friend, but they had betrayed their country. That was the tragedy of the life of Warren Harding."

Let us give respect to the dead when we honestly can, but our first consideration should go to the living and to the nation. Loyalty to the nation will not permit honest people to praise national traitors, whether they be dead or alive.

Honest people who understood the facts, could have con-

sidered Warren G. Harding only as a miserable and contemptible machine politician. His friends say he was weak. We admit it. No strong man would have surrounded himself with a cabinet of the calibre of men, which he formed.

Why did not Herbert Hoover, now our President, speak out at the time he suspected or knew that these so-called friends of Harding were betraying the then President and our nation? He did not speak out at that time for the same reason that the rest of the cabinet members did not speak. They were machine politicians, loyal to their machine, not to the Republican party. They readily violated their oaths to the government in order to protect their party machine. They did not speak out because they would have been ostracized by the high financial racketeers and political gangsters who controlled the republic then, and who still control the nation, through corrupt public officials.

Not a single member of the Harding cabinet, or Calvin Coolidge who sat with that cabinet, has ever given help or encouragement in bringing to justice the persons who committed those awful crimes against the government, while associated with Warren G. Harding. Even the sick and disabled soldiers were robbed.

On the other hand, we find most of these men who surrounded Harding, condemning bitterly through the years those men from the northwestern and western states who are or were members of Congress and who forced the exposure of the corruption in the Harding administration, and succeeded in getting some of the criminals sent to the penitentiary, where they belonged. It stands to reason that although a few of the culprits were actually caught, the great mass of them got away scot-free.

It is to be presumed that President Hoover, speaking on June 15th, 1931, at Indianapolis, is still whining under the lash of the progressive minority in the United States Congress, when he said:

> " . . . These fears and apprehensions are unnecessarily increased by that minority of people who would make political capital out of the depression through magnifying our unemployment and losses."

While Hoover has endeavored time and again, to pull the citizens' attention away from the true facts of the present depression, the minority in the Senate composed of progressives of both parties, have been pounding home to the American people, the facts regarding the real economic conditions of this country. It has been their endeavor to have the American people decide on a constructive plan to relieve the chaotic conditions which the President has time and again endeavored to minimize.

The President has no plan. He staggers around in the administration jumble, like a man in a fog. Because of his inability to bring forth constructive plans of national scope, he stoops to sarcasm, and endeavors to insult those who are capable of thinking big and constructively. At Indianapolis he hurled this insult at constructive-thinking Americans:

> " . . . I presume the 'plan' idea is an infection from the slogan of the five-year plan, through which Russia is struggling to redeem herself from ten years of starvation and misery."

As one of many constructive-thinking citizens, I will not tolerate or accept his insult. I, for one, can state as a fact that on October 29th, 1925, Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, discussed with me personally in his office, a proposed very major national plan. I went to see him at his own request, after there had been nation-wide publicity given to the proposals which I was then making in regard to a national system of Express Motorways.

Mr. Hoover agreed at that time, on practically every point which I presented. He even sent me out with letters from his office, recommending to great organizations that they study the proposition, and he sent word to these organizations that he would be glad to sit in a conference with them on the subject.

Since he has been President, powerful leaders of the Congress—men who are closely affiliated with his administration asked me to accompany them to the White House, and in my presence they asked President Hoover to support the plan,

which he himself admitted to me in 1925 was good. I heard those leaders of Congress beseech the President to give his support to the plan so that it would be approved by Congress, and advanced as a means to meet the threat of depression, which was then coming upon America. But the President would not give his co-operation to those leaders. Certain powerful financial interests controlling major railway corporations and other industrial groups, who were opposed to the development of public-owned Express Motorways, would not approve of his co-operation with those leaders of Congress, on the subject of express motorways, which they had discussed with him.

From my daily diary, I take these two references, dated just after the stock-market crash of 1929:

> Washington, D. C., Nov. 14, 1929.
> Tonight I had Majority Leader Tilson, Representative Robsion and Senator Phipps to dinner at the Willard Hotel. We discussed the Phipps-Robsion resolution for a national system of express motorways. Majority Leader Tilson is to arrange for us to see the President.
>
> Washington, D. C., Nov. 18, 1929.
> At ten o'clock, Majority Leader Tilson, Representative Robsion and Senator Phipps and myself called on the President of the United States and discussed the Phipps-Robsion resolution, now before the Congress.

The Express Motorways proposals in the Phipps-Robsion Congressional resolution were the proposals which were made to Herbert Hoover on October 29th, 1925, and that was a long time before Herbert Hoover or any other of us Americans could have possibly been infected by the Russian five-year plan.

As an example of the President's inability to plan or even think constructively, we find him going off into the realm of dreams in his Indianapolis speech. He throws to the American people there more specimens of his characteristic political sop. He said:

> " . . . I would like to propose an American plan. We plan to take care of 20,000,000 increase in population in the next twenty years.
> "We plan to build for them 4,000,000 new and better

homes, thousands of new and still more beautiful city buildings, thousands of factories; to increase the capacity of our railways; to add thousands of miles of highways and waterways; to install 25,000,000 electrical horsepower; to grow 20 per cent more farm products.

"We plan to provide new parks, schools, colleges and churches for these 20,000,000 people.

"We plan more leisure for men and women, and better opportunities for its enjoyment. We not only plan to provide for all the new generation, but we shall, by scientific research and invention, lift the standard of living and security of life to the whole people.

"We plan to secure a greater diffusion of wealth, a decrease in poverty, and a great reduction in crime.

"And this plan will be carried out if we just keep on giving the American people a chance. Its impulsive force is in the character and spirit of our people. They have already done a better job for 120,000,000 people than any other nation in all history."

I say this is not a plan—it is the hope of the American people. Herbert Hoover may dream we are all riding a rocket to the moon, or by picking buttercups we can control the weather, but dreams are not plans—though they may be an incentive.

Today, the American people are demanding justice, and all the glittering generalities and the platitudes of Herbert Hoover and his kind will not regain the confidence of the outraged citizens.

Most politicians and financial racketeers realize the faith and hope which the American people religiously place in men in public office. Most American citizens desire to be fair and just to those who hold public office. To the political gangsters the American people are always gullible. To hold Warren G. Harding up as a victim of a few of his friends is an insult to our intelligence. It is a play for American sympathy, the purpose of which is to cover up a corrupt administration, and a challenge of the honesty of many men who still sit in high places, and who were connected with the Harding administration.

Before the American people should weep for the dead Harding, they should ask the question and expect an explaining answer. The question should be, "If Warren Harding was

the weak soul that his friends portray him, then why did these friends and the financial and political leaders of America, fail to know that Warren G. Harding was incapable of being a competent and honest President. Why was he nominated and elected?"

Many of us know the answer. Warren G. Harding, through years in public office, had proven himself a political tool that could be depended upon by political gangsters. The mistake they all made was that they went too far. Certainly Harding did not suspect this—he knew it—and the gang knew it. Harding, the "Play-boy," was the goat; he did not dare to squeal. He died of fright. The gang was caught with the goods, and today they weep and plead for sympathy.

I do not claim that Herbert Hoover made financial gains by his silence through these years, but there is no doubt that he has always been an ambitious person, and his greatest ambition has been to be President of the United States. His silence during the Harding administration proved to those who have in the last few years controlled the political destinies of our country that he could be depended upon to play the political game with them. They built their man of straw and then carried him high into the confidence of the citizens, through the medium of manufactured publicity, on a mass production basis. The Hoover bubble has burst.

Let us see how his friends who sat with or on the Harding cabinet have fared through these years since Harding's death. From among those who sat in the Harding cabinet meetings, we have since seen two Presidents elected, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States appointed by one of these Presidents, and the then Secretary of the Treasury re-appointed by both of the Presidents who have been sworn into office since Harding's death. All of these official acts were the results of political engineering and ballyhoo by expert political racketeers. Not all racketeers are bootleggers.

Imagine, if you can, Abraham Lincoln sitting in the Harding cabinet! Does anyone dare to claim that the crimes against the nation, practised by and through the Harding administration, would have happened if Abraham Lincoln had been a member of the Harding cabinet?

The professional political gangsters who control the National Republican party machine and their henchmen, loudly and often proclaim their Lincolnism.

If Lincoln was alive today, he would lead an army of loyal American citizens forth to destroy the National Republican party machine. This is no idle assertion. I will show you the undeniable truth that he would do it. In 1860, Lincoln led the new Republican party—a party of aroused citizens in political rebellion against corruption—a corruption then comparable to the modern nation-wide racketeering.

There were not then two parties in the field, but seven; and, like today, the nation was threatened with destruction through the complete breakdown of the citizens' confidence.

The sixth plank in the then new Republican party platform was written by Lincoln himself—it gave the new Republican party power for the first time, and elected Abraham Lincoln President. Here it is:

> "That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance that pervades every department of the Federal Government, that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest systematic plundering of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal Metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded."

Oh, yes! There are those who will quickly point to the publicity-pushed so-called economic records of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, during their periods as Presidents. Give them all the credit due, the full measure—even add some that is not due, but don't forget the criminal use which has been made of the Federal Reserve System during the administrations of both of these men.

The Lincoln plank of 1860 is again applicable, and smashes right between the eyes those who manipulated the Federal Reserve System, as a credit behind the colossal stock-market swindle, which blew up like an ocean of nitro-glycerine in October 1929, and filled the nation with industrial debris.

The courage and inborn decency of Abraham Lincoln

directed his great hand when he wrote that plank. That same courage and decency, together with the spirit of Lincoln, I truly believe must be with us still, and will again lead us in confounding and conquering the enemies of America. I cannot refrain from writing here—"Damn those who live the lives of criminals, within the law or beyond the law, and who hide behind the glory of Lincoln."

If Lincoln had been President during the period that Harding, Coolidge and Hoover have carried the authority of President of the United States, does anyone think that the Federal Reserve System, could have been used as a gigantic financial credit, supporting the colossal stock-market gamble, which, with its financial "Bulls and Bears," has wrecked many of the industries of America, and the credit of many of the world's nations?

"The Great Hoover" on June 15th, 1931, at Indianapolis, spoke the following words, in referring to the current depression:

> " . . . Other small groups in the business world make their contribution to distress by raids on our markets, with purpose to profit from depreciation of securities and commodities. Both groups are within the law; they are equally condemned by our public and business opinion; they are by no means helpful to the nation.
>
> " . . . We can already observe some directions, to which endeavor must be pointed. For instance, it is obvious that the Federal Reserve System was inadequate to prevent a large diversion of capital and bank deposits from commercial and industrial business into wasteful speculation and stock promotion."

In these words, President Hoover is not revealing new knowledge and new opinion to intelligent citizens. We have known of these things for years and we have suspected that he knew of them. He should be condemned now for not making these statements before the damage and robbery had been complete.

Perhaps there has been no period in American history where there has been more false and malicious planning and scheming and double-crossing of the American people than in the manipulation of the Federal Reserve System during the

period of the Coolidge administration. Then would have been the time for Herbert Hoover, the cabinet officer, to have spoken; then if he had spoken we would have believed in his sincerity; but even after he became President he might have lessened the shock by fearlessly speaking the truth. He did not speak out, even when he was inaugurated. He might have spoken great things and inspired a great confidence in the minds of the people of this land, when he delivered his inaugural address, by including in his insistence for law and order the "High Finance" racket and its relation to the stock-market swindle, which at the moment that Hoover was taking the oath as President was before the people as the most colossal plundering swindle ever recorded in history.

Newsboys flipping pennies in the street may be arrested and fined or imprisoned, or both, for gambling. That legalized crime, erroneously called the "stock-market" is not even a gamble—it is a colossal international swindle, feeding upon the property and the welfare of hundreds of millions of people, and without their consent.

Has Hoover at any time ever expressed his contempt for "High Finance" or the criminal manipulators of the so-called stock-market? Some weak milk-and-water statements about speculation, and so forth, have emanated from him since he has been President. He has at no time publicly challenged the high-ups of finance, who have, figuratively speaking, "rolled the bones" for America's industries.

"The Great Hoover" showed superb courage in condemning "High Finance's" poor relations—the bootlegger and the gunman. With enough courage he could have hit the racketeers at the top, and by so doing might have saved America from industrial depression, and thereby made good on his recommendations, which the National Republican party machine so vigorously presented to the voters in 1928—"Hoover and Prosperity."

There are those who will endeavor to defend the President against the charges that he is directly or indirectly an agent of the nefarious juggling of the securities of the nation's industries, by the "Bears and Bulls" in the arena of the stock-market.

When financial and political gangdom raises its ballyhoo in defense of the President, remember this—Andrew Mellon is the appointee of the President. Mellon is the Secretary of the Treasury and he is an agent of "High Finance," the master racket of rackets.

To those who believe that Christ was justified in showing his contempt for and driving from the temple the "money-changers," let me say with all the vigor I possess, I am just one of millions who loathe, despise, condemn, and refuse to look up to or follow the so-called leaders—Hoover, Mellon, Hughes, Coolidge—Raskob, the stock-gambler and financial backer of the Democrat party machine—Smith, the Tammany gangster who has never spoken of Tammany corruption, and others of their stamp. These men are present-day servants of political corruption, the weapon of greed which has leveled our nation to a condition bordering upon anarchy, and which has reduced tens of millions of our citizens to poverty.

"Lest we forget!" Greed commanded during the late World War. The international financial racketeers of today are many of the same men who pushed the buttons which energized and actuated the then Democrat robots, who forked over the billions of war graft to the button pushers.

As this book is being written, the ballyhoo of "High Finance" is again vibrating all over the land. The title of the tune is—"Hoover, the Great, and his plan for a year's relief of the World War Debts."

I will readily admit, and gladly so, that this so-called move for the suspension of payments on the war debts for one year, is an excellent move, but not all will accept it as the initiative of the President of the United States, because we know that it is not, and American people are being humbugged who believe that this suggestion emanates from the brain of Herbert Hoover. He is a robot, speaking the words put into his mouth by "High Finance."

Let us take into consideration a few facts so we can clearly understand what is happening in the proposition that there be a suspension of international war debts for a period of one year. Regardless of how or who started the late World War, it is now pretty definitely the opinion of most people that it

was a war for commerce—not for democracy. We were told that it was a war to end all wars.

When Germany declared war on France she appeared to "High Finance" like a winner, and so J. P. Morgan & Company and its affiliated and kindred organizations, arranged a huge loan in this country for Germany. This loan was to finance her purchases in this country during the period she would require to subdue France. But as one nation after another swung to France in opposing Germany, it became apparent that more dollars could be garnered by "High Finance" if the German loan was withdrawn and the international bankers and their kindred sailed under the flag of the Allies, and so they withdrew the extension of credit to Germany and arranged a huge loan in America for the Allies. By driving a hard bargain J. P. Morgan & Company became the fiscal agents in the United States, for Great Britain and the Allies.

Things moved along as planned until the latter part of 1916, when right after the Battle of the Marne, Germany and France started negotiations to sue for peace. I was in Wall Street, New York City, at that time as an engineer and a designer of engines of war. All there were gambling on the United States being drawn into the World War. When Germany and France appeared about ready to declare the war off, there was a panic in Wall Street. There was no joy in the thought that the war might soon cease. There was great anguish that millions of dollars of planned war profits might not be taken. The great war industries developed in America, might after all have to be abandoned without ever having turned a wheel.

If Germany and France had definitely decided to cease their military actions in 1916, the plans to put America into the war for commercial profits would all have been lost. Something had to be done and done quickly if the looting of America, through the medium of war, was to be carried out. One of the so-called great bankers of America made all haste to England. He crossed the English channel with the British military commission. With them he went to France and on the floor of the Chamber of Deputies, this private international banker so-called, told the legislators of France:

"We will guarantee to have America in the war in less than

eighteen months if you will stick to England and remain in the war."

France decided to remain at war. The American banker returned to the United States. There is testimony in the records of the United States Senate, that his group determined upon subsidizing a large number of American newspapers for war propaganda purposes. This subsidy was actually executed and the propaganda for driving America into the war was intense and immense. It did not take eighteen months to put America into the war. It took less than six months.

Not long after the United States declared war on Germany there was a strong drive, through the subsidized press, insisting that the American people needed a banker to handle the American war munitions contracts, and so through the power of Morgans, Edward R. Stettinius, one of the members of the Morgan bank was made second Assistant Secretary of War, to handle and place war munition and supply contracts which were released by the War Department of the United States, amounting to billions of dollars, and thus American industries were forced to kneel at the altar of the Morgan bank.

July 11th, 1931.

Hon. Patrick Hurley,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Secretary,

I am writing you for some information which I would like to be accurately informed on, and I would appreciate it if you would have this letter put in the hands of those who could give me the information which I desire, if possible, if they have it:

(1) Was a party by the name of Bacon and one of the senior members of J. P. Morgan & Company, commissioned to Colonel during the period of the late World War?

(2) If Mr. Bacon was commissioned, did he serve at any time as aid-de-camp to General Pershing?

(3) If he served as aid-de-camp to General Pershing, when was he first selected for those duties, and how long did he serve in that capacity?

(4) If Mr. Bacon served as aid-de-camp to General Pershing, did he accompany General Pershing from the United States to Europe, when General Pershing first went to Europe to take command of our forces there?

(5) Was any other member of J. P. Morgan & Company appointed Assistant Secretary of War during the late World War period, and if so was he in charge of the procurement of munitions and did he handle or have any jurisdiction over the releases of munition contracts?

(6) I would also like to know who served as Chief of Ordnance at the time the United States declared War, and what other officers filled this post during the period of the late World War?

(7) Were there not two Chiefs of Ordnance, one at Washington and another in France?

I would appreciate very much in obtaining this information from the War Department.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) LESTER P. BARLOW.

WAR DEPARTMENT
The Adjutant General's Office
Washington

In reply AG 095 Barlow, Lester P.
Refer to (7-11-31) Miscl. July 17, 1931.

Mr. Lester P. Barlow,
4 South Street,
Stamford, Connecticut.

Dear Sir:

I am requested by the Secretary of War to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 11, 1931, in which you make inquiry regarding Col. Robert Bacon and ask for certain other information. Your questions are answered in the order in which they appear in your letter.

Major Robert Bacon QM Reserve, was commissioned as colonel during the war, having been appointed as Aide to General Pershing on January 6, 1918, and promoted to the rank of colonel. He served as Aide until May 1, 1918. He accompanied General Pershing's party to Europe.

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, who is understood to have been connected with the firm of Morgan & Company, was designated to have charge of all questions of purchase and supply, for all bureaus of the War Department, on May 7th, 1918 (G.O.44, W.D., 1918), as 2nd Assistant Secretary of War.

Brigadier General William Crozier was Chief of Ordnance at the outbreak of the war. He was succeeded by Brigadier General Clarence C. Williams, as Acting Chief of Ordnance. Later General Williams was appointed as Chief of Ordnance.

There was a Chief of Ordnance at the War Department; the designation of the officer in charge of ordnance matters in France was "Chief Ordnance Officer."

Trusting that the foregoing will answer your inquiries, I am,

Very truly yours,
(Signed) C. H. BURDGES
Major General
The Adjutant General.

It is positively amazing when we realize what a powerful part the Morgan bank played in the planning and directing of the late World War. First, we find her on Germany's side arranging a huge loan in this country for Germany. Then when Germany could not use the credit because of the British blockade, the Morgan bank withdrew the German credit and established a new credit and loans for Great Britain and her Allies. The Morgan bank worked with Great Britain to bring America into the war on the side of the Allies, and finally when the United States declared war against Germany, the Morgan bank was powerful enough to force one of its officers into the War Department as second Assistant Secretary of War, to handle and place practically all War Department contracts for materials.

But this is not all that the Morgan bank was powerful enough to accomplish. Mr. Robert Bacon, one of the senior members of the Morgan bank was made Aide to General Pershing and accompanied General Pershing to France. This permitted the Morgan bank to have one of their senior members in continuous contact with the Commanding General of the American forces for an extended time in France, and during that time the opportunity to be present at all of the important military conferences in which General Pershing took part. Mr. Bacon was commissioned a colonel.

At West Point where the military college of the United States army is located, young cadets are trained to become military officers. Their education up until they graduate from West Point costs our government from forty to fifty thousand dollars each. They then go through many years of military service and slowly rise to the rank of colonel and yet, through the power of "High Finance" we took as aid to Gen-

eral Pershing, a private banker who was in the centre of that element which did everything in its power to put America into the war, and which profited commercially more than any other group during the war.

There are those who will say we needed financial experts to aid General Pershing. We did, I will admit, but we did not need high financial racketeers. There were plenty of honest and capable bankers in America who might have been called upon to aid General Pershing, rather than those who promoted the war for cash profits. It seems to me that it was the height of hypocrisy to pick as an aid to General Pershing, one, who was a financial pirate and who first sailed under the German flag, and when it was not possible to make war profits under the German flag because of the British blockade, switched the German flag for the British flag where commercial profits seemed more sure. The whole thing was a crooked deal—nothing else can be the answer, and no other answer will be accepted by millions of American citizens.

I do not need to tell you of the graft and the corruption and the looting of the American treasury during the periods of the late World War. I need only to state that from the time Germany declared war, until the signing of the Armistice, there were thirty-three thousand new millionaires made in America—one for every three American soldiers who lost their lives in the World War. Oh, the spirit of Lincoln! Am I wrong in remembering and speaking of these awful crimes against common folks?

Many of us Americans have never condoned the looting of America during the World War. Many of us have never closed the books. We will yet balance the ledgers with the war grafters and criminals.

When the looting of the nations which were at war had been completed, when no more swindling on a huge plan was possible through actual war, then the famous "Fourteen Points" were offered to the fighting nations of the world, as a basis upon which the war could be terminated. Millions of people throughout the world today still believe the "Fourteen Points" were children of the brain of Woodrow Wilson, but the Senate records of the United States prove that the "Fourteen

Points" were first written by a United States Senator—the late Honorable Robert M. La Follette. He had offered them as a sounding instrument and suggested that they be made to the world at war, as a test of the sincerity of the high claims of the warring nations, before we should declare war and so that we would definitely know what America might be fighting for. It was the contention of Senator Robert M. La Follette, that if we made known definite, specific, evowed principles which we would fight for and which we would insist that the Allies also accept as their principles, a basis for peace might be established which would bring about the cessation of hostilities, without the necessity of the United States going to war.

Senator La Follette also contended that the mere assertion that we were to fight for democracy was too indefinite, and that such statement was being made as a guise to cover those who intended to rob America after we would enter the war. Senator La Follette also said—"I shall not vote for war until it is definitely decided what we will be fighting for." But the money-driven press of America pounded without mercy the fearless La Follette. America must be involved in the war—America and her billions. Into the war went America—eighteen months of war—a hundred and twenty thousand young Americans dead—a million more crippled for life.

The fighting ceased. The President of the United States journeyed to Europe and with him went Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, one of the members of the Morgan bank, to observe and scrutinize and to direct as much as possible, the financial terms of peace.

And now came the new phase of the program to perpetuate indefinitely the game of greed, upon the nations which had been at war. Germany and her allies were beaten. We will not weep over that. At least one of the great military machines had been smashed. But all of the guns of the allied nations were still held pointed at Germany when she was forced to sign the agreements written by "High Finance" for the Allies. That, you will say, is the natural thing that will happen when one side is defeated, and I agree with you—that is always the case after war hostilities cease.

Let us see what Germany had to agree to, which was extremely interesting and to the liking of the international bankers. First came the Dawes plan. Then the Young plan, and now, we have the so-called Hoover plan—to agree, because we are all brothers, to let everything rest for a year—everything except the American private bankers' two billion dollar loans to Germany.

Under both the Dawes and the Young plans, Germany was forced to assume war debt financial obligations, which were utterly impossible for her to meet, even after she squeezed every dollar possible out of her citizens. She could only meet her obligations agreed upon, by floating huge loans from private bankers, so-called. The victorious allied nations, not including the United States, divided among themselves, as spoils of war, twenty-five billion dollars worth of German territories. But Germany was not given credit for those values. She must pay in cash the war debts as the allied nations established them, and those plans drawn for the allied nations by the international bankers, demanded that Germany pay annually five hundred million dollars more than she ever had produced as national income in any year prior to the late World War.

The international pawnbrokers had the guns of the allies to protect their loans—at least they thought so. The results are that, today, the international bankers who fly the American flag, have about two billion dollars invested in German government and German industrial loans, and at an interest rate and bonuses which they established and which are exceedingly high. Germany, the beggar, with the guns in her face could not be the chooser.

The financial pressure upon the new German Republic has been so terrific, that her citizens have been reduced to almost hopelessness. Try as they might, they could not meet their war debt obligations, but there was no let up by her debtors. "Even if Germany cannot pay, she must pay," said the international pawnbrokers, and more and more of the international pawnbrokers' money was necessary at high interest and bonuses, in order that she could pay her war debts.

None of the "Fourteen Points" which we put before the

warring nations, and which were accepted by them, have been kept. Was the war to end all wars a success? Have the nations disarmed? Is the misery which encompasses the whole world today an evidence of success of the so-called war for humanity—God and country—democracy?

The German people have been asking themselves these questions, and slowly but surely they have been building up a political army in Germany under the leadership of Adolph Hitler. The announced purpose of this new political organization in Germany is to gain the control of the government of the Republic of Germany, and once in control they are pledged to repudiate the entire war debts of Germany. The amounts which are owed to the various governments under the war debt agreements and the amounts which have been loaned by the private bankers, so-called, will be entirely wiped out, if Germany falls through political revolution to the German Fascisti, under Hitler, or to the other faction under the Communist flag. In an article in the "New York World-Telegram," dated June 30th, 1931, it is estimated that the Hitler Fascisti forces in Germany number about ten millions and that the Communist organization there number about six millions.

Germany and Russia have signed an agreement that they will stand with each other in case of war, or at least not aid the enemies of either. Should Germany go through revolution and the government control be taken by the Fascist element under Hitler or the Communists, the entire two billion dollars of American private money loaned to Germany will be lost, and so the decision is made—it is much better in the face of danger of great financial loss and probably world-wide revolution—"to be brothers again—nice good Christian souls. We must weep on each other's shoulders and pat each other on the back, and tell each other what fine fellows we really are. We never meant to be so unreasonable. Yes! That is the line to feed to the gullible. Who will speak for us, who will say what we want said? Who will be the human instrumentality to spread this financial and political hooey?" And with one accord the financial brethren decide upon Herbert Hoover, the President of the United States. "He will say it just the way we want it said. In fact, we will write it and we will have

him read it, so there can be no mistake. We will kill two birds with one stone. We will get the war debt payments between the nations stopped for a period of a year, and in the meantime we will have a chance to get our two billion dollars of American money in the private loans to Germany manouvered into a safer position.

At the same time, we will be able to develop a powerful line of propaganda which will again inflate the Hoover bubble. We must revive the confidence of the American people in Herbert Hoover. Yes, Herbert is our man! We must save him and he must save us. We know that the war debts must be cancelled eventually, but we still have our war loot. Let the nations hold the sacks!"

Again, American people have fallen for the propaganda of "High Finance"—and again, we have "Hoover, the Great."

The suggestion to cancel the payment of the war debts for one year is the only thing that could have been done at this time. The move was necessary because of the past criminal manipulations of government controlling levers, which have been actuated for the most part by high financial racketeers and their agents in public office, during the period of the war, and since.

To the reader who may feel that I am unduly suspicious and vindictive, I will quote from what I believe is one of the greatest and one of the most reliable newspapers in the world—"The New York World-Telegram." It is this splendid newspaper's opinion that Mr. Hoover finally acted because he had to. I quote from an editorial of "The New York World-Telegram"—

> "He acted because he was reliably informed that Germany was on the edge of revolution, which would cause world financial chaos and strike the huge American investments in Germany. He acted because such chaos might lead to war."

Certainly, he acted because such chaos might lead to war, but who was the mother of the chaos? None other than "High Finance," who continues to demand tribute through the medium of the miserable conditions of war-torn governments.

Under the national political system, which is now an old

American custom, administrations change—sometimes Democratic—sometimes Republican—but always, through the wires of this system, the robot jumping-jacks who sit in government positions where men should be, are operated by the same button-pushers—the racketeers of "High Finance."

The theory that the king can do no wrong would be extended by some to protect officials of our government from being criticized for wrong acts, but there are some citizens of the United States, who know that the laws of this government permit just criticism of all public officials, from the President of the United States down.

Unscrupulous financial and political elements have for many years applied efforts tending to intimidate timid citizens. Therefore, just criticism of improper acts of public officials must spring from indignant and courageous citizens.

Good citizens find no pleasure in justly criticizing public officials. Such criticism does not fall within the acts of choice. It is a duty which true Americans cannot evade.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Ill., January 27th, 1837.

"I do not mean to say that the scenes of the Revolution are now or ever will be entirely forgotten, but that, like everything else, they must fade upon the memory of the world, and grow more and more dim by the lapse of time. In history, we hope, they will be read of, and recounted, so long as the Bible shall be read; but even granting that they will, their influence cannot be what it heretofore has been. Even then they cannot be so universally known nor so vividly felt as they were by the generation just gone to rest. At the close of that struggle, nearly every adult male had been a participator in some of its scenes. The consequence was that of those scenes, in the form of a husband, a father, a son, or a brother, a living history was to be found in every family—a history bearing the indubitable testimonies of its own authenticity, in the limbs mangled, in the scars of wounds received, in the midst of the very scenes related—a history, too, that could be read and understood alike by all, the wise and the ignorant, the learned and the unlearned. But those histories are gone. They can be read no more forever. They were a fortress of strength; but what invading foeman could never do the silent artillery

of time has done—the leveling of its walls. They are gone, They were a forest of giant oaks; but the all-restless hurricane has swept over them, and left only here and there a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage, unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few more gentle breezes, and to combat with its mutilated limbs a few more ruder storms, then to sink and be no more.

"They were pillars in the temple of liberty; and now that they have crumbled away that temple must fall unless we, their descendants, supply their places with other pillars, hewn from the solid quarry of sober reason. Passion has helped us, but can do so no more. It will in future be our enemy. Reason—cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason—must furnish all the materials for our future support and defence. Let these materials be moulded into general intelligence, sound morality, and in particular a reverence for the Constitution and laws; and that we improved to the last, that we remained free to the last, that we revered his name to the last, that during his long sleep we permitted no hostile foot to pass over or desecrate his resting place, shall be that which to learn the last trump shall awaken our Washington.

"Upon these let the proud fabric of freedom rest, as the rock of its basis; and as truly as has been said of the only great institution, 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'"

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Greed—The Mill that Grinds Out Rebels

THERE is no substitute for work. The constructive efforts of the individual, when planned so that in some way his efforts cooperate with another, is called industry. Whosoever plans and endeavors to execute moves, not to add new values but tending to speculate upon the efforts of others, is a parasite upon industry.

Speculation has never created wealth. People who buy real property or products of industry, and who add their services in some way which increases the value of the properties which they have purchased and take profit for their services, are not speculators in the true sense of the definition of speculation.

People who buy real property or products of industry and who do not intend to add new values to these things, but expect a profit because of the mere fact that they were able to purchase and hold these products until a higher price could be obtained, are speculators, and are a detriment to our industrial society.

When these type of speculators gain, through their trading branches, enough cash to purchase sufficient of the securities to direct the control of an industry, then that industry is in the hands of speculators, instead of industrialists, and it is then operated for its trading values, rather than for its earning values.

In the United States today there are four or five independent financial pools of wealth. Anyone of these groups, through the power of money, control industries worth many billions of dollars. At the centre of these pools of finance, is an organization which is generally described by those who control it as a bank.

For the purpose of making my point clear, I will name one of these central organizations described as a bank. The one which I will select for this purpose is J. P. Morgan & Company. This organization is not a bank; it is a gigantic international pawnshop. You will hardly find old watches and rings

hanging in the windows of its place of business to be sold at pawnbrokers' prices.

The pawn which this international pawnshop and its kindred manouvere in the game of "High Finance" is our great and small industries, and the lives of millions of men and women who are the employees of these industries which have been placed in hock.

In order that these colossal international pawnshops may always have available sufficient cash to carry on their parasitic racket, they have through their control of political elements, manipulated and juggled the laws of our nation into such form as to place back of them the financial credit of this nation, through the medium of the Federal Reserve System and the so-called Federal Reserve Bank, which is not a Federal bank at all, but is a private bank of which these industrial pawnshops are the members, and because of their financial preponderance is controlled by them.

I want to hasten to state that the director of the Federal Reserve Bank is a federal officer. It is he and his staff who pass upon the securities of the legitimate industries which are placed in "hock." Through the industrial pawnshops called banks, and with the approval of the governor of the Federal Reserve System, these securities are placed with the Federal Government as a security for more cash to be loaned, which is used in turn to absorb more and more of the legitimate industries into the pawnshop circle of industrial control. Of course from diplomacy's standpoint, it is preferable to call these gigantic pawnshops banks. It sounds better and gives them a cloak of honesty.

Now, doesn't the above read with much of the fervor and fanatical tone of the soap-box orator, Socialist, Communist, and the down-and-outer? To those who may find happiness in the feeling that these statements are just the ravings of another "Red," it is my duty to challenge their intelligence with the following statement:

I am not a down-and-outer; I would not be rated as a rich man by "High Finance," but I am to a great extent financially independent.

At this point I must pause to make it clear that I am not

criticizing what I consider as legitimate and honest banking with which the American people have direct contact. At another place in this book I will make myself very clear on this point.

I deplore and oppose the generally recognized objectives of Socialism when such objectives include the application of the Socialist doctrines to the United States. My position is the same in regard to Communism.

I am a capitalist at heart, by intentions, by actions and by sincere beliefs. I am an engineer and a creative man and am the originator of over one hundred inventions recorded in the patent offices of the governments of the world.

The United States government during the war appropriated several hundred millions of dollars to be expended in the building of devices recorded under the Barlow patents.

Prior to the late World War, during the period of the war, and much of the time since the war, I have been a part of the personnel, either as an employee or as a consulting engineer, in many of the greatest industries in America.

At the time the United States entered the World War, I was in Great Britain at the request of the British Admiralty and sent there through the British government's fiscal agents in this country—J. P. Morgan & Company—designated international bankers—but in reality international pawnbrokers.

1633-1645 Equitable Building,
E. W. Moir, M.Am.Soc.C.E.,M.Inst.C.E.,
120 Broadway,
New York.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The bearers, Messrs. L. P. Barlow and J. Floyd Smith, both representatives of the Marlin Arms Company, New Haven, Conn., are going over to visit the Ministry of Munitions, London, in order to submit for tests certain aerial bombs invented by Mr. Barlow.

Mr. Barlow is carrying patent specifications and drawings of these bombs, and it will be necessary for him to be permitted to carry these to the Ministry of Munitions.

Mr. Barlow also has in his possession applications for patents in various foreign countries as enumerated below,

which he is to place in the hands of his patent attorneys in London:

Great Britain
France
Russia
Belgium
Italy
Sweden
Denmark

Any assistance and courtesy that may be extended to them will be much appreciated.

E. W. Moir, British Consulate General,
Per V. J.

I was in Great Britain as a military engineer, and even at that time enjoyed the reputation of being valued as an exceptional "mechanical nut." Here I have the thought of how quickly military wars could be won for commercial objectives, if dollars actually did the fighting. How much more quickly the profiteers and the gamblers could accomplish their nefarious trade if dollars were actually the bullets which maimed and murdered the masses of helpless and foolish people. But alas, the dollars cannot fight; they cannot think and they cannot move. They must be moved by those who possess them, and must be paid in many cases for the brain power of engineers and "mechanical nuts" such as I, in order that the engines of war—the bombs, the guns, the airplanes, the tanks, the depth mines, the poison gas, the terrible explosives, the methods of signalling communications and all the thousands of other clever and intricate, but mostly hellish devices, can be brought forth to serve the parasites who feed upon the backs of hundreds of millions of miserable and deluded people, who are for the most part workers and creators in industry.

I have traveled and worked in many foreign lands. I have lived and associated and worked with people of many classes, colors and creeds. I have witnessed much of the depths of poverty of other people. I have dealt directly with "High Finance" and I have lived surrounded by the luxuries which it provides. I have been patted on the back by "High Finance" and have been promised much by it if I would just stay "put." By high financiers I have been lauded and pampered and cussed

and coaxed and bullied, brow-beaten, blacklisted and boycotted.

There was a time when as a boy I had much of the same ideas as most children have in regard to so-called big men, both in the industrial and political life of our land. I held these men as a class high in my ideals. Of course, there is nothing strange about that. It is the period in our lives when as children just beginning to think, we look up to the goals, still far away, which we may reach only by the path which leads in the direction of honesty.

As we go on, first Santa Claus we find is unreal, but that disillusionment does not pain. We look back upon it and smile, and take our turn in being Santa Claus for the youngsters who are at that delicate age where their faith is perfect; but as the wheel of time carries us on, seemingly with kaleidoscopic speed, we view things and scenes which shatter our ideals, one after another.

Oh, how we fight and struggle to hold on as the merciless schoolmaster of time points out to us the undeniable truths—that many men and women are not the saintly characters which we believed; that the milling masses of people are brutal and merciless; that many of the great we find are not great because of fairness or fineness of character, but have reached their heights in fame and wealth of the world, without thought or care as to the misery which may have resulted in their mad and insane desire to satisfy their greedy instinct.

Time carries us on, and again and again our faith in men in public life must stand the shock that comes when we find our accepted ideals in public life proven false and small in character, corrupt and cowardly. To many who travel the path of life, their original bundled stock of ideals rapidly diminishes. Some go but a short way, until they give up their respect, their faith and their hopes. From then on they go wherever the tide turns or the wind blows. Others hold on longer; a few hold on throughout their lives, but most of us are fortunate indeed if we can save just a few of our ideals to guide us in our social relations.

How often have you, when conferring with your neighbor on the possibilities of better conditions and more honest poli-

tical standards, heard these words?—your name substituted in place of mine:

"Oh, Barlow, everybody is out to get theirs and I am going to get mine!" And again, "What is the use, Barlow? If we put a new group in public office they will just be as crooked as the group now there."

I have never believed either of these things. I have always felt that if the time comes when I must believe such, then I must admit to myself that in principles I have been completely demoralized and am in belief an anarchist. I do not think that the great mass of people in our land believe in the above destructive theories, and I sincerely believe that most of the financial and political leaders of this country whose honesty may be questioned are men who once held high ideals, but under the dictates of "High Finance" believe those things which I have just quoted as the statements often heard from our acquaintances.

Not many years ago, the president of a great railroad system in this country made the statement—"The public be damned!" Within the last year I sat with a group of business men in conference with the president of another great railroad system. He made a statement in reference to the general public which had the same ring—"The public be damned!" At another place in this book I shall name and describe this railroad executive and his attitude in reference to the relations between the public and private corporations.

Vivid among my memories are eighteen months, much of which time was spent as an engineer and an officer on the general staff of the largest army that was ever assembled by Mexico during her periods of revolution.

From the beginning of 1914 until the latter part of July 1916, I saw much of the system used by the so-called international bankers in gaining their objectives. If the history of the Mexican revolution was required to be written in one word—that one word would be "Oil."

Private industry took me into Mexico as an engineer. The revolution swallowed me. The records of my activities there may be found in the "Congressional Record" and documents of the War Department and the War College of the United States government.

WAR DEPARTMENT
Washington

May 2nd, 1916.

Mr. Lester P. Barlow,
1219 Pennsylvania Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Mr. Barlow,

I have your very kind letter of May 1st. If you were here, I would be very happy indeed to have an opportunity to talk with you about your experience in Mexico and your judgment of the various persons and influences there, based upon so long and close an observation. I do not, however, feel justified in suggesting your coming over from Philadelphia to see me on that subject, since my engagements here are so uncertain that I might not be able to see you at any time I might fix now. I am grateful however, for your letter; and if you come to Washington anyhow, I would be happy to have you call in, in the hope that I can free myself to see you.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Newton D. Baker
Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT
Office of the Chief of Staff
Washington

War College Division

June 26th, 1916.

Mr. L. P. Barlow,
1219 Pennsylvania Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Mr. Barlow,

I have been informed that you were at one time on the staff of Francisco Villa. If my information is not correct, please pardon this letter. If, of course, I have been correctly informed, will you feel at liberty to give to the War Department, information on the following points:

(a) How many machine guns were in Villa's possession when you were with his command?
(b) What was the make and model of same?
(c) What was their condition?
(d) How many field pieces did he have?
(e) What was the make, model and caliber?

(f) Do you know what became of these guns (machine and field pieces)?

(g) Were there any Japanese officers or men connected with the handling of machine guns or field pieces in Villa's army?

If you feel that you cannot answer these questions (granting that you have the information) do not hesitate to say so.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) Andrew Moses,
Major, General Staff,
Secretary, War College Division.

WAR DEPARTMENT
Office of the Chief of Staff
Washington

War College Division — June 28th, 1916.

Mr. L. P. Barlow,
1219 Pennsylvania Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir,

By direction of the Chief, War College Division, I desire to acknowledge your very kind and prompt letter of June 27th, in answer to one from the War College Division, and to assure you that we appreciate the information which you have given us.

It is realized that you are very busy at the present time, but if you can find time to give us any additional information, you may have, as to permanent or semi-permanent fortifications about the cities of Mexico, we would very much appreciate it; in fact we will be very glad to receive any information which your previous experience leads you to believe to be valuable to our government.

Very sincerely,
(Signed) Andrew Moses,
Major, General Staff,
Secretary.

We, as Americans, are a proud people but there is much we should be ashamed of. American greed and unscrupulous international political manouvers have recorded in Mexico some of the most shameful acts which have been written in the last quarter of a century.

In April 1914, on the International Bridge which connects El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico, General Scott, representing the United States government, with members of his staff, approached from the American side to the center of the span. General Francisco Villa, representing one of the great military revolutionary factions of Mexico, with twelve of his staff and myself trailing along with them, advanced to meet General Scott.

Just a few days before the American military forces had entered Mexican territory at Vera Cruz. I do not question the necessity or the honor of that move on the part of the American government. General Huerta, who had control of Southern Mexico, including the capital, had committed many overt acts against the American citizens and their property.

The fact that the armed forces of the United States entered Vera Cruz excited and angered millions of Mexicans, and Americans in Mexico at that time were often in hazardous positions. In the territory controlled by General Villa, proclamations were posted at his orders, warning all Mexicans not to molest American citizens, under the penalty of immediate death before the firing squads. I was in Torreon, Mexico, when these proclamations were posted. Torreon was the headquarters of General Villa.

Financial groups of the United States, controlling much of the world's oil industry and certain other greed-mad elements, were making a hard drive through the press for United States military intervention and control of all Mexico. The propaganda for intervention was terrific and especially was this true in connection with the Hearst newspaper organizations. The Hearst family owned at that time great tracts of land in Mexico, and it has always been their hope that some day the American flag would fly over that property.

All over the United States it was reported in the press, that a vast Mexican army led by General Villa was moving from Torreon, seven hundred miles away, upon El Paso at the American border. The Hearst papers told how he was approaching with two train loads of artillery and that Villa intended to destroy El Paso by artillery fire.

So effective was this line of propaganda in the American

newspapers, that the men of the families who lived at El Paso, Texas, had their wives and children leave for northern points. The city was rapidly being fortified for the expected attack. The United States government moved troops to El Paso under General Scott's command. The army rushed artillery there and placed it on the heights of El Paso, with the muzzles of the guns aiming towards Mexican territory.

We received these American newspapers in Torreon within thirty-six hours after they had left the pressrooms. It did not take General Villa long to decide how to meet that situation. He ordered his big passenger locomotive steamed up, and with a few cars behind this engine, and two engineers and two firemen aboard, with twelve of his staff he left for the border—seven hundred miles north. The train never stopped except for coal and water.

On reaching Juarez, General Villa sent a message to General Scott, requesting that the American General meet him on the International Bridge, and there I saw General Villa give General Scott two beautiful Indian blankets, and through an interpreter, he said to General Scott:

> "I have come seven hundred miles with twelve officers of my staff to tell you, General Scott, that my army is seven hundred miles from here in Central Mexico. No portion of it and none of the artillery are moving towards American soil, and none will move for the purpose of attacking American people.
>
> "I have seen the newspapers published in your land, and the false statements that I intend with my army, to destroy El Paso. I beg of you in some way, to stop the American editors from printing these untruths. We are sorry that it was necessary for America to believe she should invade Mexico at Vera Cruz, but the differences between General Huerta and the American government will not break the friendship which I and my army hold for the American people."

You who are reading this book, have often heard of the bandit Villa. You have considered him, undoubtedly, due to the stories which you have read in the press, an ignorant and unprincipled savage. The above military event of the meeting of Scott and Villa, is all in the records of the United States

government. Believe if you must, that General Villa was a savage, but what is your opinion of the editors of newspapers who manufacture and print deliberately and wilfully, stories in some of the nation's most powerful periodicals, for the purpose of deceiving the American people, and in that way getting their approval to send her sons to war, and to die in that war, while they butcher the sons of another nation.

There are no savages on earth comparable to the double-dealing, double-crossing mongrels who own and edit, or control the editors of the cowardly yellow sheets, which are far too many in this land. Any city or community in America is fortunate indeed, if it is served by a clean press and a courageous and honest editor.

Do you remember the Columbus raid that was heralded far and wide, and the vivid statements in the press of Villa's raid upon the helpless and unsuspecting people of Columbus, New Mexico? You will probably be surprised by the following statement of mine. If you are and want to verify its veracity, I would welcome you making the test:

No official of the United States government will today claim or make a definite official statement that General Villa raided Columbus or had anything to do with that raid. Columbus was raided under the leadership of a Mexican by the name of Lopez, over whom Villa had no control at the time of the raid.

The real reason for the invasion of Mexico by the armed forces of the United States under the command of General Pershing, was for the purpose of destroying what was left of the military organization under the command of General Villa. Villa's army was a menace to the Carranza government of Mexico, which had been recognized by the United States, but not until Carranza had agreed to practically all of the demands of private interests in the United States in reference to the oil situation in Mexico. The recognizing of the Carranza faction by the Federal government of the United States is a record of one of the most shameful acts which the administration of the government of the United States has ever carried out.

It was a double-cross, officially acted against Mexico, by the officials of our nation. One of the highest officers of the

Federal Government, in direct authority for the military invasion of Mexico, for the presumed purpose of capturing General Villa, told me personally in these words—"We never wanted the old man." He was referring to General Francisco Villa.

When General Villa's military organization had been scattered far and wide, the American forces were withdrawn from northern Mexico, and one of the mysteries to the American people is and always has been, if the United States government really went into Mexico for General Villa, why didn't they bring him out?

Not only were the Mexican people double-crossed at that time, but the unsuspecting Americans were double-crossed, and their confidence violated in the interest of oil and "High Finance."

But once Carranza was established in the Mexican capital as president, with the help of the American politicians and at the demand of Greed, Carranza ran true to form by double-crossing the oil gang and the officials of the United States government, and in the end Carranza was double-crossed by one of his own men, who punctured his dishonest heart with a bullet manufactured in the gun plants of the United States.

While great pools of wealth control the press, Greed, the criminal, will be the editor, and the confidence of the American people will grow weaker. Public confidence is all there is to government; when that confidence is attacked, the government is assaulted.

We must never let down in our insistence for the right of freedom of both speech and press, but we should hold strictly accountable for their acts the editors of the American newspapers and other periodicals, which are capable of moulding the opinions of the American people. I saw a lot in Mexico relating to "High Finance" and international politics. I had seen a lot before I went there. I was getting over some of my gullibility.

In February, 1916, I called on General Leonard Wood, at Governor's Island, New York, in relation to matters pertaining to military aviation. He gave me a letter of introduction to General Scott, then acting as Secretary of War.

Headquarters Eastern Dept.,
Governors Island, N. Y.
February 19, 1916.

General H. L. Scott,
Chief of Staff,
Washington, D. C.

My dear General,

This will introduce Mr. Lester P. Barlow, who has exhibited to me an aerial torpedo which it appears to me will accomplish three very desirable results.

1. Comparative safety in handling and from premature explosion while in the air, even if struck by an enemy small arm projectile.
2. Accuracy in travel after being released.
3. Detonation of the charge before penetrating in the ground.

I believe the device is worthy of the careful consideration of the Department.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) LEONARD WOOD, Maj. Gen.
U. S. A.

During our conversation General Wood said to me, "General Bliss is here and I would like to have you come in and meet him." After introducing me to General Bliss, General Wood said, "We are very much interested in your experiences with General Villa in Mexico, and would like to have you tell us a few things, which you might care to tell us about him."

We talked for a short while, and then as I arose to leave, General Wood said, "When you get to Washington and reach General Scott, show him your official Mexican military papers. Tell him that I asked you to do so, and you will find him very much interested. Both he and I think that General Villa is a he-man."

General Scott and General Wood both knew that General Francisco Villa was one of the few generals in Mexico, officially commissioned a general by the legal government of Mexico, under the Madero administration. Madero was the first legally elected President in Mexico in a period of over twenty-five years. The military strategy of Francisco Villa, a rebel leader supporting the Madero revolution, made possible

the holding of a legal election in Mexico, and in that election Madero was elected President.

After becoming President he commissioned Francisco Villa a general, in command of volunteers. American newspapers often prefer the sensational rather than the truth, and it has therefore been the policy of the press to generally refer to General Francisco Villa as the "Bandit Villa." There is no doubt that many of the readers of the press and even many of the editors are actually ignorant of the fact that General Villa was one of the few actual legal generals in Mexico during his time.

General Villa could neither read nor write other than to sign his own name, but he was an exceedingly brilliant and courageous person, and military experts recognized in him one of the foremost cavalry commanders ever recorded in history. Contrary to the general press statements, Villa was an absolute abstainer from intoxicating liquors. He rarely smoked, and even then only a cigarette.

As a sample of his capabilities as an executive, he was able to keep under arms one hundred and twenty thousand men, fully supplied with ammunition, clothing and food. He controlled three-fourths of the railroads and the rolling stock of Mexico, and kept them in good repair. He bought millions of dollars worth of railway and industrial supplies in the United States. He cultivated the agricultural lands of Mexico under his control, and also operated many of the mines. Through the shipment of agricultural and mining products to the United States, he was able to maintain a credit in American banks running into tens of millions of dollars.

He was utterly unapproachable by American "High Finance." Once I carried a message to him from some of America's greatest oil operators. General Villa's answer to me was, "You may tell your American friends we have nothing to sell or give away." That is absolutely the nearest that American oil men ever got to General Villa. He had no ambition to become rich or hold public office. He could, if he had willed, been President of Mexico. He was truly a Mexican patriot and his word was as good as a United States gold bond.

The above statements in reference to General Villa will

Photograph from a personal collection of the writer

GENERAL FRANCISCO VILLA

One of the few legal generals of Mexico, 1912-1916. This is a rare photograph of the late General Villa and was taken at Christmas-time 1915 in Mexico City

bring the reader of this book to one of two conclusions—either Barlow is a liar—or many of the most prominent newspaper and periodical writers are liars.

I had a very pleasant visit with General Scott and we talked over some of the Mexican affairs. At that conference General Scott arranged through the Chief of Ordnance, for me to conduct the first aerial bombing experiments which this Government undertook.

My experimental air bomb tests were so successful that, before the year was ended, I was requested by the Chief of Ordnance to go to industrial leaders and to men who controlled in "High Finance" and interest them if I could, in preparing their plants and equipment for mass production of aerial munitions, and to be ready in case the United States government was drawn into the World War.

The officers of our military establishment were facing a very delicate situation. President Wilson was running for re-election on the slogan—"He kept us out of War." Requests for appropriations for munitions of the Congress at that time would have been very poor politics from the standpoint of the administration professional politicians, who were more interested in corralling votes than in being truthful.

As I was not an employee of the War Department or an officer in the military service, I could easily, without embarrassing the Democrat administration then in power, talk unofficially to industrial leaders about preparing for war.

New York, N. Y.,
Sept. 16, 1925.

Mr. Lester P. Barlow,
Borglum Studios,
Turn of the River,
Stamford, Conn.

Dear Mr. Barlow,

I am sending you the following statement which I would be glad to send to anyone you may name.

"From the beginning of the calendar year 1916 and until December 15, 1917, I was on duty in the office of the Chief of Ordnance, Washington, D. C. as head of the

Division having charge of the design and procurement of certain classes of Ordnance Material, which included bombs.

"During the fifteen months prior to the declaration of war, the Ordnance Department became greatly interested in the designs of bombs submitted by Mr. Lester P. Barlow, and encouraged the work of development to the extent of placing the facilities of the Frankford Arsenal at his disposal. The designs were considered so promising that the question of their production in quantity became of great potential importance. As neither the Ordnance Department nor Mr. Barlow was in a position to undertake this work, Mr. Barlow was encouraged to interest private manufacturers, who either had the necessary technical knowledge and facilities or who were in a position to procure the same. The company he interested and with whom the Ordnance Department made contracts for the manufacture of bombs of his designs was the Marlin-Rockwell Company of New York."

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) JAY E. HOFFER
Colonel U. S. Army (Retired)

WAR DEPARTMENT
Office of the Chief of Ordnance
Washington

In replying refer to No.400.111 June 20, 1916.

Mr. Lester P. Barlow,
1219 Penna. Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Sir:

Replying to your letter of June 17, (0.0.400.111/2503) with reference to your negotiations with the Hale & Kilburn Company for the manufacture of your aero shell, I am directed by the Chief of Ordnance to inform you that this Department will be pleased to consider any information that that Company may care to submit with regard to this proposition.

Respectfully,

(Signed) JAY E. HOFFER
Lt. Col., Ord. Dept.

The Hale & Kilburn Corporation is a large pressed steel fabricating manufacturing organization at Philadelphia. For some time prior to the late World War and during the war, this corporation was controlled by the Morgan bank financial combines. The Hale & Kilburn Corporation received orders from the War Department for the manufacture of vast numbers of the Barlow air bombs, which were known of in the War Department specifications as "MARK BOMBS."

At the very time that President Wilson was in the heat of the campaign for re-election, he was meeting at the White House the representatives of great financial institutions, and there, with them, he was planning the program for drafting men into the United States military service, as soon as war would be declared, which it was expected by them would not be long after the election was over.

It was the business of the Chief of Ordnance and is always his business to keep his division of the military branches of our country up to its highest efficiency, or as high as he can within the policy of the administration which is in power; and so I believe that General Crozier, the Chief of Ordnance, was not only within his rights, but was doing his duty, when he requested me to talk with the leaders of "High Finance" and industry, and to sell them if I could, on preparing their industrial equipment for the building of millions of air bombs, after war would be declared.

I was told there in the office of the Chief of Ordnance, that if I needed any help, I could send the executives of industry or the bankers to the War Department, and these bankers and industrial leaders would there be assured that what I was doing was with the approval of the War Department.

So, forth I went, and I got what I went after. When war was declared the following April, I not only had the industrial plants ready to manufacture munitions of the designs which I had created, but I had some of the biggest banking organizations in New York City, behind me. I had already organized a staff of experts which I left in America, while I journeyed to England at the request of the British Admiralty and with the co-operation of Great Britain's fiscal agents in this country —J. P. Morgan & Company.

On the declaration of war by the United States I took the first boat back to America, and on the boat I found myself a fellow-passenger with the man who is now President of the United States—Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover learned through some of his companions on that voyage that I was aboard and he invited me to come to his cabin.

I had been endeavoring for a year to interest our government in the theory of a depth mine, as a means of attacking submarines. I had also on my trip to Great Britain taken this up with the British Admiralty. Neither the American government nor the British government seemed to be much impressed. Mr. Hoover, however, showed considerable interest in the proposition and invited me to meet him at Washington immediately on our arrival in the United States, which I did, and he took me to the Chief of Operations of the United States Navy, where again my suggestions were apparently not given much consideration or considered of much value.

I do not claim that I was the inventor of the depth mine, but within sixty days after this visit with the Chief of Operations of the United States Navy, the Navy came out with a depth mine which proved highly effective in attacking the submarine menace. It was not equipped with a contact firing device, but only with the depth firing means. This was in accordance with my early recommendations which were not acceptable to the Navy Department at that time as may be seen in the Navy Department's letter to me, dated May 15th, 1916, which letter I received of course, more than a year before the Navy brought out this depth mine. It was not of the same mechanical design as I had suggested; it did not infringe any mechanical ideas which I had proposed. I was extremely busy with other types of bombs at that time and I am satisfied not to claim credit in the design of the depth mine which the Navy brought out.

In order to give this little incident strength, I believe I am justified in publishing the following letters, the originals of which are still in my possession:

NAVY DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Ordnance
Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1916.

Mr. Lester P. Barlow,
c/o Frankford Arsenal,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Subject: Barlow aerial submarine torpedo.

Sir:

In the blueprint forwarded with your letter of May 11, 1916, it is noted that the submarine type of bomb has no contact firing device in addition to the depth firing device; the Bureau considers it necessary in this type of bomb to embody both types of firing in order to permit of attacking vessels on the surface as well as those submerged. It is consequently suggested that you try to modify your submarine bomb to embody the contact firing as well.

For your information while no specifications have as yet been drawn up, a bomb for test will be subjected to preliminary tests in Washington before dropping from an aeroplane; such preliminary tests would be for the firing device, and for calibrating the depth device. Such preliminary tests would be conducted at a drop of around 50 feet, in water less than 30 feet depth. If these tests prove satisfactory the aeroplane drop tests would then be considered.

As the Bureau is very desirous of expediting tests on such bombs, an early reply will be appreciated.

Respectfully,

(Signed) G. L. CASKEY
By direction of Chief of Bureau.

NAVY DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Ordnance
Washington, D. C.

May 25th, 1916.

Mr. L. P. Barlow,
1219 Penna. Bldg.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Subject: Barlow aerial submarine bomb.
Reference: (a) Your letter of May 22nd, 1916.
Inclosure: (A) Copy of Bureau's letter No. 27439/135 of even date. (Herewith)

Sir:

Forwarded herewith for your information is a copy of a letter to the Commandant, Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa. As spoken of in paragraph 2 of inclosure, the Bureau does not desire working drawings but a plan showing a general arrangement and the action of the bomb.

It is suggested that you communicate with the Commandant as soon as practicable.

Respectfully,

(Signed) H. BETTS
By direction of Chief of Bureau.

From the above it can be seen that the Navy was seemingly not overly enthusiastic for my suggestions of a submarine torpedo, which at that time I was proposing would be dropped into the water by aircraft and by exploding same thirty or forty feet beneath the surface of the water, a hydrostatic pressure would be developed in the vicinity of the submarine, which would crush her.

When I went to New York at the request of officers at the War Department to interest financial powers and industrial leaders, I did not fool around with the small fish; I went to the biggest of them. Late in 1916, in a private dining room at the Bankers Club in the Equitable Building, I sat at a luncheon conference with the president of one of the large so-called industrial banks in New York and with two of the vice-presidents of that bank. With me was a fine old gentleman by the name of W. W. Gibbs, who is now dead. It was he, who years ago, built the first bridge across the Hudson River, the bridge which today is known as the Poughkeepsie railroad bridge.

This conference was to be the final conference before the drawing up and signing of a contract between the officers of the bank and myself, which would grant to them the control of the Barlow patents on aerial bombs and munitions. All of these patents had the endorsement of the War Department.

I met the president of this great bank for the first time at this conference. All of my former dealings with his organization had been with the vice-presidents of that bank. We were already proceeding with our luncheon when the president

of the bank came in. As soon as he had sat down he turned to me and said,

"We are going ahead now to close up the contract. Everything is all right about it except the cash consideration. That, we are going to leave out. We are going to put back of you all of the plants and equipment that are necessary and all the money and men that you need. There will be no time lost from now on."

Then it was my turn to speak, and my answer was—

"The contract has been approved by your vice-presidents and myself. The cash consideration has been agreed upon by us. The cash payment will be partial compensation for the years that I have been in the air, flying with high explosive bombs and experimenting with them so that it would be possible to come to you or other banks and industrial leaders, with a program and a design of bombs and munitions, acceptable to our government. If you sign the contract the cash consideration already decided upon will remain in the contract."

Right then and there was where I was told emphatically and without any hesitancy on the part of the president of the bank with which I was dealing, that I was not dictating the terms of any contract which they signed, and that I could go along on the terms which they set up, or they would go along without me.

I asked him, "What do you mean?" and he said, "I mean simply this: You have submitted to us copies of your blueprints—of your designs, and everything which we need to go on with the manufacture of the munitions that you have interested us in. We have engineers and mechanical experts and plants and everything necessary to build such munitions, without your help. It is up to you to choose whether or not you want to line up with an organization that has the equipment, the efficiency and the power which we have."

He stopped for a moment and I also hesitated as I was dumbfounded by his boldness, but I soon mustered sufficient courage to shoot the following statement at him—

"These devices are all patented and I own the patents. You cannot manufacture them without my permission."

Without a moment of delay and with a voice seemingly filled with confidence, he said, "We do not need to consider for a second, your patent rights. A patent is worth no more than the money back of it."

Startled as I was by this man's apparent confidence in his position and in his willingness to be ruthless, I became interested in knowing why he seemed so confident. So I said, "Very well, if it is money that makes the patent, suppose I sell these patents to another one of the New York banks or to an industrial group?"

Back he came at me; there was no hesitancy on his part as he said, "The big banks of New York don't fight each other on patent matters."

"Very well," I said, "Suppose I go direct to the industries and make my deal there?"

He flashed back at me instantly, "All of the major industries in America are either owned or controlled by the big banks of this nation."

I answered, "All of them? Are there no independent industries?"

"Well," he said, "Some of them may believe they are independent, but they are not." Then he changed the statement by saying, "There may be a few independent ones."

I then made my next move by stating I could place an injunction against them if they started to build munitions of my patented designs, without receiving my permission to work under the patents.

Just as quickly as before, he came back with the statement, "Yes, you can apply the injunction, provided you put up a million dollar bond to protect our commercial rights during the period of suit, and you will find it a very difficult matter, Barlow, to get anyone to back your patents with a million dollar bond when you are opposing large banking institutions in this country."

I had one more shot to fire. I said, "I may be able to locate one of the independent manufacturers and make a contract with them to go ahead."

He immediately answered, "And if you do, we will stop them with an injunction. We intend to build these muni-

tions, patents or no patents, and you might just as well make up your mind to it now. We are not here to favor you or be interested in any demands which you make. But you have a good mind as a mechanical engineer; you have a great opportunity to associate yourself with one of the most powerful financial groups in the world, and I do not want to see you lose this opportunity, because I think you could be valuable to us; but I want you to know the facts, and this you will have to learn when you deal with organizations of great magnitude—forget your ideals; business does not run on ideals today. It is dog eat dog, gang eat gang. You have the choice of joining one of the most powerful gangs in the world. You must join someone's gang, and you should not be foolish enough to forfeit the opportunity which we are giving you. You can do all that you hope to do for the government and accomplish your ends commercially. It is up to you to make the choice. Are you going with us or not?"

My answer was, "Not"; and I continued, "I have a new ambition—to beat your game. You can not have my services. I am amazed at what you have said, and hold for you my utmost contempt."

I did not even finish my lunch. With my old friend Mr. Gibbs, I walked out. I went out of the Bankers Club that day, a full-fledged industrial rebel, hoping I would live to see the day when "High Finance" would be kicked out of control of the American industries. I now know that day is dawning.

On the 17th day of January, 1917, less than sixty days after this verbal battle, I signed a contract at 14 Wall Street, with an industrial group which was associated with the Bonbright banking organization, and the down payment which I received, was two checks for $25,000 each. The checks were drawn on the Marlin Arms Corporation. That was half of the amount which was called for in the other proposed contract.

With me again that day was Mr. Gibbs. Unknown to me, he went over and told the other banking group that I was dealing with the Bonbright crowd. They sent him back to get me. He called me out into the lobby and told me that if I would go over to the bank, they would give me the one hundred thousand dollars cash at once, and write the contract the way I wanted it.

One of the most gleeful moments of my life had arrived. I sent my old friend back to the four-flusher bank president, who had but a few weeks before invited me to join his gang, and this is the message that Mr. Gibbs took back from me—"You may tell them to take their one hundred thousand dollars and go to hell."

Again Mr. Gibbs came back and explained to me, at their request, that "Barlow must be shown he is losing fifty thousand dollars in cash." And again I sent Mr. Gibbs back to them with another message as follows: "It is worth fifty thousand dollars to tell them to go to hell."

These messages were unknown at the time to the men with whom I was sitting in conference, for the purpose of drawing and signing the contract which was signed before the day was finished. But during that day I had a little controversy with a lawyer on the other side, and I threatened not to sign the contract at all. He informed me that I was bluffing, and I said, "Very well, we will stop right now." But Mr. Rockwell, the President of the Marlin Arms Corporation, asked me to go with him to another room. There with only him and myself present, we discussed our proposals and agreed upon them.

When we went back into the room with the attorney and others and officers of the bank, we drew the contract without further argument. The contract was drawn and signed as I wished, and as two checks were put into my hands for fifty thousand dollars, I looked over at the attorney, who afterwards was a very good friend of mine, and I could not resist the meanness which prompted me to say—"This is one contract which you damned lawyers did not dictate."

He quickly informed me then that if he had had his say, he would not have been talked into the approving and signing of the contract without further consideration. It was then that I asked Mr. Gibbs to inform them of the messages which had gone back and forth that day to the other financial group, and when Mr. Gibbs informed the attorney and others there, that I had made the statement that day, that it was worth fifty thousand dollars to tell the other fellows to go to hell, Mr. Rockwell, with a great deal of apparent amusement, took a

big cigar from his lips and turning to the attorney said, "Yeah, you would have played hell."

Mr. Rockwell is now dead, but one of the men who sat there and approved of the signing of the contract, was Mr. Louis E. Stoddard, who was the Vice-President of the Bonbright bank as well as Vice-President of the Marlin Arms Corporation. I have always held a great deal of admiration for Mr. Stoddard. He is a square shooter, and I have several times found him to be a fine friend.

I have no intention to say or to insinuate that all of the wealthy men in Wall Street or any other place, are not fine upright citizens. I want to be understood in my belief that many of the very wealthy men and women of this country are people of fine character; but they are living in a time and under a foolish economic system which all of us have helped create, either by our ignorance or because of our apathy to exercise our franchise properly. The system of today is well described by the president of the bank, when he said to me, "You must join somebody's gang and ours is one of the biggest."

A few months ago, when this same man was selected to head another one of the great banks in New York City, I was amused. The press accounts stated he was placed there because of his known high character and honesty—"All is not gold that glitters." When the courts are safe for common folks I will name this man publicly—I would now but it would be my word against his and there are today, too many courts influenced by the power of wealth instead of honesty.

Men fail in their trust in public office or in commerce, men who it seemed would never violate a confidence. They are generally the victims of terrific pressure which is continuously and ruthlessly driven against them to weaken them, and break their faith in ideals and in men.

I made up my mind during the World War period, and when still clear were the ideals which my brothers and I were taught in the little schoolhouse by the willow hedge on the snow-drifted prairies of Iowa, that the gambling and pirate elements in our national financial structure would have to be destroyed,

or they would destroy the social confidence of the people of our land and thereby destroy our government.

Just as sure as the sun will rise tomorrow over the eastern horizon, the American people are now forced to plan their future in such a manner as will root out of our nation the entire gambling financial elements which, with their vicious practices, have brought America down on her knees.

She will go down no further. The delusion is passing. Her muscles and sinews are tightening, ready to spring at the throat of the unscrupulous, merciless, brainless monster which has created itself and drawn into its being, thousands of brilliant men, that it might use their brains as it had none of its own. Most of those men and their wonderful brains which have been absorbed by this monster, are infected by the spirit of its being and have become a part of the monster itself.

We call this monster—Greed. It breaks the lives of ambitious men and women who want to be honest. It insists that willingly or unwillingly, creative men and women and working people, must do its bidding, and its bidding is actuated but by one thought—"I want more and more and more and more, for mine—mine—all mine."

Greed—swollen with insolence and pride, and hopelessly blind to the ruin it has wrought, now wallows in the quicksands of its own ignorance. We call it world-wide depression. The citizens are thinking now—they are studying the factors dealing with national economics with a will which has never been known of before. In the end we will be grateful; the depression which we now deplore we will soon realize is swallowing colossal international, industrial parasites. As organized Greed sinks into oblivion we will witness sweeping economic and political changes. We are realizing and admitting our faults. We will soon go forth to meet our responsibilities as citizens and as the guardians of the great principles—"Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

From Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

"That is the real issue . . . It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A National System of Express Motorways

TOO many men who are counted as national leaders are today standing by, apparently at a loss to conceive of major tasks which may be practically accomplished and which would be economically sound business ventures. Because a great percentage of our so-called business leaders are not competent to present constructive plans for employment of American citizens, I do not believe we lesser lights should keep our talent hidden under a bushel. I do not believe that I am egotistical in feeling that I have sufficient ability to advance a practical plan to alleviate the depression and to employ efficiently, vast numbers of our citizens. In the preceding chapters of this book I have been exceedingly critical. It is often said that it is easy to criticize but not so easy to offer constructive suggestions. If I did not have in mind industrial plans, which I believe are extremely practical and which I am sure are economically sound and as such cannot be refuted, I would not have taken the liberty to criticize certain officers of our government and others for not being effective and practical planners and executors of their plans.

Let us review to some extent the nation's motor traffic problems and then let us decide in the following parts of this book, whether or not there is a practical solution to the major motor traffic problems, and whether or not at the same time there is not a gigantic task in this connection, awaiting our decision to act—a task so great that it will catch and hold the attention not only of the American citizens, but of the whole world. I believe there is such a task.

We of America are extremely fortunate at this time to have available a depression knock-out punch in the form of a colossal problem, easily solved. That solution in execution will put a million men to work, and will answer the problems of financing and construction of Express Motorways, which will wipe out our national motor traffic chaos.

Every large city in the United States is swamped with motor

traffic. There is not a sane person in America who will deny this fact. Not a single city has even the remotest of co-ordinated plans for meeting its problem of motor transportation. No responsible person in the United States can deny this truth.

Every city has considered a multiplicity of suggestions for meeting the motor traffic needs, many of which would be practical except for one weakness, no practical plan is offered for financing the work. Therefore, all plans so far considered by any of our great cities, for the relief of congestion and for the promotion of efficient flow of motor traffic, must up until now be classed as impractical. That problem officially at this time, in all of our great cities, remains unsolved. There is not a traffic expert so-called in America, who can successfully debate against the above claims.

With but few exceptions, there are no automobile highways in the United States. You will probably for a moment disagree with me in making such a broad and seemingly unwarranted statement. Automobile highways, with very few exceptions, exist only in the dreams of the American people. There are highways—many of them—and of various types and designs, but with few exceptions none for the exclusive use of motor vehicles. In fact the courts have held in numerous decisions, that the owners and operators of automobiles have the least right upon the public highway. Pedestrians have the first right; droves of cattle or other domestic animals, hayracks, cars, bicycles, and all forms of slow moving vehicles have prior rights under the law, over the automobile. Many court decisions have definitely established the fact that the motor vehicles have no highways, upon which they may operate at high speed, and as efficient motor transportation units.

There are a few public boulevards which are reserved today for the exclusive use of motor vehicles of the pleasure type, but to compare the total mileage of such boulevards or parkways with the total mileage of the major highways of America, is to realize the almost infinitesimal existence of such motor tracks.

Every main highway connecting the congested sections of the country, is exceedingly dangerous and a potential death-

trap because of the small percentage of drivers who are intentionally or unintentionally reckless and incompetent. Unless literally, millions of these incompetent drivers are deprived of using the main-through highways, we must admit that the average maximum mental standard as applied generally to motor car operation, must remain dangerously low.

Regardless of high efficiency in the operation of motor cars, practised by many millions of drivers, they will be helpless to fight or avoid extreme danger, when operating over the conventional highways in the presence of incompetent drivers. The above statement must be admitted by every intelligent person.

The highways of America, even the through main highways, are still more the record of past ages than they are of modern times. We call them improved highways. That is the proper designation. The motor car is a modern device. Mechanically it is efficient and safe at sixty miles an hour, or at even greater speed. It is a mechanical record of modern mechanical ingenuity.

This modernized mechanical wonder, when combined with the so-called improved pre-historic trails and highways, presents a hazard which the American people are facing, beyond the hazards ever known of in the world's history of wars. I need only to remind those who read this, that the death toll annually, due to motor car accidents, in the United States is now more than thirty-three thousand people. In the same type of accidents, a million more people are seriously injured and approximately a billion dollars worth of property destroyed.

If this annual record of lost lives and the destruction of property is the measuring rod by which we measure the efficiency of the motor transportation in America, then we must admit that in so far as motor transportation is concerned, we are shockingly incompetent. We are actually ignorant. We are deliberately brutal. We are publicly, cowards. We are commercially and economically, inexcusably wasteful.

All of the above is tolerated because of the almost universal belief that the nation as a whole, is financially unable to execute plans, which would meet the traffic problems.

I will agree that the construction of highways, streets,

bridges, etc. and the improvements on them, has kept pace with the maximum ability to finance these undertakings, through all of the conventional methods applied to such financing. The taxable credit of the communities is almost universally right up to the limit. If further improvement in the traffic situation depends upon general taxes and the gasoline tax, then we will be extremely slow in improving the efficiency of motor transportation, and each year we will record more thousands of violent deaths and hundreds of thousands of more serious injuries to persons, as the accepted tribute we must annually pay for not meeting our national motor car problem.

I do not advocate the abandonment of the present state highway systems, nor do I propose that the states surrender jurisdiction over their roads. I am proposing in addition to the present state and municipal highways—a great system of national Express Motorways, owned by the nation and operated as toll projects, the toll received to be used in amortizing the bonds necessary for the building thereof. I am also advocating that such a system of Express Motorways shall operate under a nation-wide uniform set of traffic rules.

Approaching New York City, through the State of New Jersey, we see for a few miles, what is now described as an express highway, for the exclusive use of motor vehicles. Within ten years, this short piece of so-called express motor track will no longer be considered as such. This so-called express motor highway in New Jersey is only several miles long. The entrances and exits between its ends carry all cars entering or leaving this motor track, directly into or out of the high speed lane, and there have been a number of disastrous accidents because of the inability of the operators of motor cars to see the danger which they are approaching when they enter or leave this express track, so-called.

The operators of motor cars are told this is an express motor highway. With that thought in mind they proceed to operate at express speed. The result is that this short motor highway is perhaps one of the most dangerous avenues over which motor cars travel, within the United States. There are no grade crossings on this short piece of so-called express system. This fact also lures the unsuspecting motorist to

increase his speed. Suddenly a motor car comes up from a ramp in the centre of the highway and hurls itself at high speed, directly into the path of the other swiftly moving motor cars. This occurs not once in a week or so, but continuously.

The men who designed those ramps and entrances, and the officials who approved of their construction have much to be ashamed of. Another bad feature of this short piece of motor track is that it is a two-way motor track. This eliminates it from ever being an express motor highway. When Express Motorways come in America, they will all be one-way traffic and the reckless and incompetent drivers will not have the opportunity to crash head on, into traffic moving in the opposite direction.

In the Westchester County, New York, which is adjacent to New York City, we have the finest example of highway construction in America for the exclusive use of pleasure motor vehicles. The parkway system of Westchester County has been heralded far and wide. It is a marvelous accomplishment and testifies to the brilliancy of the leaders of that County and the splendid public spirit of the citizens. Westchester County has a very extensive mileage of what they term parkways. I have never heard the people of Westchester County designate these parkways as "Motor Express Systems." They apparently are not desirous of deceiving themselves or any one else as to the type of motor system which they have set up, in the establishment of their beautiful parkway motor lanes.

The chief engineer responsible for the laying out and construction of the Westchester County parkways is Mr. Jay Downer. In Mr. Downer we have par excellence in a public official. He is highly efficient in his advanced thinking. He is daring, exceedingly active, tremendously enthusiastic, proud of his achievements and one who can sell himself and his ideas to those with whom he deals. His achievements testify to his marked honesty.

I recently heard him say to a group of people in Connecticut —"What you people need here in Connecticut is to get rid of your mossbacks. Throw them out of all of your meetings and don't let anybody steal anything. We are particularly determined in the Westchester County plans for our parkways

that no one be allowed to steal anything—not even one—because if we allow just one we will open the doors to a whole lot of people who have the desire to steal."

Mr. Downer's achievements as an engineer and an executive, and his honesty, prompts me to refer to him here as proof that when the American people make up their minds to have honest and efficient public officials they can have them. The people of Westchester County are up on their toes. That is why they have officials like Mr. Downer.

Westchester parkways are for the exclusive use of motor propelled pleasure vehicles. Not even pedestrians are allowed upon the motor tracks of these parkways. The retaining of these parkway highways for the exclusive use of motor pleasure vehicles is only allowable because of regulations which were established by law, before the construction of the parkway system was initiated.

In order to carry out this beautiful and wonderful undertaking in Westchester County, the County applied to the State of New York for permission to bond the County, for the purpose of paying for the parkway improvements through the credit of the County itself.

The maximum speed limit on these parkways is thirty-five miles an hour, which is proper, for the promotion of leisurely pleasure driving. Thirty-five miles an hour is about half the speed which the average motor car in good condition is capable of operating at safely, considering only its mechanical ability.

The Westchester County parkways are designed to carry traffic in both directions. Practically all grade crossings have been eliminated. There are many beautifully designed viaducts, carrying intersecting roads, over the parkways. To drive over these beautiful parkways in Westchester County for an hour or so, and then pass the Westchester County eastern line into Connecticut, is to leave a motor car heaven and enter a motor car hell.

In Westchester County we have a proud and vigorous public spirit. In the State of Connecticut we have an example of where public political apathy reigns supreme, with its companions, cowardice and political ignorance. Because of these outstanding characteristics of the Connecticut voters, western

Connecticut along the coast, is in a continuous twenty-four day traffic chaos. The proximity of the Westchester County parkways to western Connecticut only makes more glaring the indictment of the much advertised and much over-rated "Connecticut Yankee."

The "Connecticut Yankee" of the Colonial days holds a place deep in the affections of the American people, but the fellow who, today, describes himself seriously as a "Connecticut Yankee" is, with but few exceptions, a fossilized mossback. He never changes or advances unless he is forced to do it under the preponderance of opposition of public opinion.

In this country of ours we have too many of these human anchors whose one mission in life is to get a death-grip on the dead past and hang on. They cannot even be reasoned with and are the proverbial fools who, "convinced against their will are of the same opinion still."

From the beginning of time, had we depended upon the mossback, we never would have advanced. We would still be running around in the bushes, without even a leopard skin for a pair of pants. I will not here attempt to describe what the female species would look like, but the males of the human race would probably have bunches of bushy whiskers and hair full of weeds and burrs. Their toes would be spread out like a fan, because they would never dare to attempt to encompass their feet in some protective means. Because they were born as suckers, probably they would not break that precedent in gaining liquid substance of life, and man would be still running over the prairies and through the woods in search of a mother cow or goat which might furnish him with the liquid food. If through some unforeseen break in precedent they got beyond this, we might find the male members carrying a huge knotted club as they moved through the woods and the rocks, perhaps looking for food in the form of a bear, and if they were successful in bringing down one of these beasts, they would eat him raw, due to the fact that none would dare to think of the use of fire.

But the mossback has not prevailed down through time. In spite of him the human race has moved forward. Instead of exterminating the mossback they have very benevolently

insisted on dragging him along. He has never taken one step forward—he has been dragged all the way. I have admitted other parts of the nation are cursed with this species but Connecticut is exceptionally handicapped in harboring great members of them.

The famous Boston Post Road which comes down through Connecticut towards New York is still the Boston Post Road, and far more suitable for old-fashioned stage-coaches than it is for the modern motor caravan which, today, all around the hours of the clock, struggles and twists and fights for every mile it advances.

In October 1930, in the director's room of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, fourteen business men met with J. J. Pelley, President of the railroad. With him were one or two of the vice-presidents and several directors of his company. The discussion that day was in reference to the possibilities for relieving much of the motor traffic congestion through western Connecticut. At another place in this book I have said that I would name the president of a certain railroad, who seemingly was actuated in his thoughts by the policy—the spirit of which was expressed by another railroad president, many years ago—"The public be damned!"

During the discussion at the above meeting, Mr. Pelley made the statement—

> "It is to the interest of our railroad that the highways remain congested. If there is anything which we can practically do to increase that congestion, we will do it. There may be a need today for a through highway for motor cars crossing Connecticut, but we shall oppose any such plans and will block the materialization of any such highway, just as many years as we can. If the public don't like the congested highways, let them ride the railroad."

As Mr. Pelley made the above statement I sat within six feet of him and wrote down what he said.

The legislature of the State of Connecticut is dominated and controlled politically by privately owned public utilities, and the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company.

The younger voting generation in the State of Connecticut are getting awfully tired of Connecticut's political bullies. I predict that before many months have passed there will be a political war started in the State of Connecticut, comparable to the political revolution which swept over several of the northwestern states a decade ago.

The trains running upon the tracks of the railway systems of America, are running on tracks exclusively for the use of such trains. All other forms of transportation are by law restricted from operating over the right-of-way of the railroad systems. Adequate signalling systems, wonderful despatching facilities, flawless inspection and routine is demanded, and countless other elements enter into the development of railroad efficiency.

It is not only the right but the duty of the American people to insist upon and to get the highest possible factors of safety and efficiency incorporated in a nation-wide program for America's colossal motor traffic. The right and the necessity for safety and efficiency in transportation must go beyond the rail express service. Located on the same right of way, two, four and six separate railway tracks may be often seen, parallel with each other. These express railway systems provide separate trucks for opposite-bound traffic.

It is not strange that the American people are beginning to recognize the necessity for the most careful consideration and planning for future efficient control of the nation's colossal motor traffic. Hence the necessity for safe and efficient Express Motorways.

What a whale of a difference a little intelligent planning will bring! Our colleges are turning out annually hundreds of thousands of students who, blindfolded, can tell the difference between a Chesterfield and an Old Gold cigarette. Such ability is heralded far and wide as a marvelous accomplishment. A small portion of the energy and brilliancy applied to the testing of cigarettes in this nation, if applied in the study of the nation's motor traffic problem, would reveal not only simple and practical engineering and financing plans for the establishment of a safe and highly efficient public-owned National Express Motorways System, but the opportunity for

the American people to enter upon one of the greatest eras of advancement in commerce and prosperous times, which can ever be recorded in the world's history.

A great National System of Express Motorways meeting not only the traffic problems of the cities, but also inter-city Express Motorways connections, can be planned and created and financed, whenever we are ready "to go to it," and the whole job can be done without adding a single dollar to the present expenditures which we are now paying as an absolute loss, through waste of actual cash, machinery, time, injuries and deaths—all the price we pay daily in the maintenance of the motor traffic jam.

We are literally damming rivers of motor traffic. Billions of gallons of fuel are burnt in our motors as they roll and whir under the hoods of tens of millions of motor cars, standing still, waiting for the traffic to break. In the congested districts of America, the loss of fuel, of wear and tear on the parts of the cars such as tires, brakes and motors, the loss of time of the passengers, the loss of lives and the injuries and the destruction of property, is beyond totalling.

If we will capitalize even a small portion of this enormous waste, by building where necessary, several high speed Express Motorways, and permit the American car operators to avail themselves of the services of Express Motorways and let them pay a proper fee for such service, we will find that we can as good business create a public owned Express Motorways System throughout the nation, costing many billions of dollars, and increasing the property values of the nation by many more billions of dollars.

We would require the services of a million men in doing the task and the whole thing would cost us not a dime over what we are now paying as a tribute to incompetency and ignorance.

The organized railroads of the United States, under the admitted high efficiency of their management—all of them put together—paid a total last year in taxes of approximately $450,000,000. The disorganized motor traffic, in spite of the perpetual chaos, paid a total in taxes to the nation of over one billion and sixty million dollars. Almost four times as much was paid in taxes by the motor transportation as by the com-

bined railroads of America, and yet we find nearly all of the so-called authorities on transportation and the financial authorities and the political authorities, assuring the American people that everything is being done which can be done, by good business management, in meeting the nation's problems of traffic chaos.

I do not hesitate to state here, that with but few exceptions, the whole caboodle of the so-called traffic, economic and political experts are incompetent and short-sighted. Many are four-flushers, controlled by financial and political masters who, through their greed and selfish ambitions, are as blind as bats to the solutions for the co-ordination of the water, the motor, the rail and air unified transportation service which the American people are demanding and will have.

The citizens of this nation as a whole, stand glary-eyed and stupified at the whirling mass of tangled smoking motor traffic, waiting for the other fellow to solve the dilemma. We have reached the period when we must snap out of it. From now on we are going to step on it. Not from the five and ten cent stores will come the plans and the materialization of the Express Motorways System, which in a few years will be servicing this four hundred billion dollar nation.

Here is one of the great tasks ahead of us, one of the colossal jobs, an opportunity to increase the nation's wealth by many billions of dollars, yet here we stand, weeping and wondering when the depression will lift and some one find us a job. When we get over our foolishness and mental laziness we will find there is so much to do that the nation will be searching for men to do the jobs.

In the next seven chapters of this book, I propose plans relating to the nation's transportation problems, principally of the motor traffic phase.

With the assistance and encouragement of a few friends, I have for seven years been spending exclusively from my own funds a great deal of money, and have given much of my time hammering at the public apathy, endeavoring to break it, and to get the American people's attention focussed on the necessity for establishing publicly owned express tracks for our tens of millions of motor cars. I have no time to give heed to

my critics and those who see in me the personification of egotism and the impractical dreamer. When I look at the tangled mass of motor cars and human beings which covers our whole four hundred billion dollar nation, I can register only contempt for the critics who themselves have nothing to offer in the way of solution for the motor traffic chaos. From such critics, advanced and practical thinkers have nothing to fear.

Personally, I have developed a good business and an excellent living most of my life by telling "can't-be-didders" to "go to hell and get out of the way." History proves that all the doers recorded down through time have enjoyed bucking the tide and the opportunities to attempt the accomplishment of worthy but tough jobs. It is the greatest and the sportiest game in the world. It is the only game which never ends. It has given the people of the world a billion thrills. As time goes on the moves are increasing, and the speed of the game is swifter. It advances all society. It keeps the whole world expectant and yet surprised. This game is—Progress. It can be safely recommended to all who hope for the fullest measure of enjoyment in life.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Address before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society, February, 1842.

"Few can be induced to labor exclusively for posterity, and none will do it enthusiastically. Posterity has done nothing for us; and, theorize on it as we may, practically we shall do very little for it, unless we are made to think we are at the same time doing something for ourselves."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Toll

THE plans for the materialization of Express Motorways which I am advocating in this book are all predicated upon the principle of "let those who use them pay for them." This would mean that people who desired to take advantage of safe and faster motor transportation would have the privilege of operating motor vehicles over the Express Motorways System by paying a small fee.

The payment of fees for the use of the express tracks may be designated as anything which you desire to call it. You may call it purchasing a ticket as you do when you contract with the railroad for transportation. You may consider it in the same light as you do in dropping a nickel into a fare box of a street car or bus or the subway. You may think about it as you do when you drop your nickels and dimes which ring the toll chimes in the long distance telephone pay station. In fact, we call these "toll" lines.

For my part, I shall designate the fees paid for the use of Express Motorways, by those who use them, as a toll. I am not afraid of the word toll, because it definitely describes in the best possible manner the only practical basis for financing the construction of National Express Motorways which we admit must be built. I might use some other designation than toll and thereby attempt to mislead and deceive the people.

Personally I am, and I believe most of us are, unalterably opposed to any part or portion of the highways of America, regardless of type other than the railroads, being owned by private corporations and being operated by them as toll projects. It is always with a feeling of resentment that I pay toll in crossing a private toll bridge which is fed by public roads, built through public funds. I always feel that it is a disgrace that any private group can profit through the means of toll obtained from motorists, who are traveling over through-highways.

I have a feeling of pride when I drive my motor car through

the great forty-four million dollar Holland Tunnel between Jersey City and New York City, because there I know that my half dollar in toll is being paid for the purpose of amortizing the cost of a public-owned highway project. As I pass beneath the mud of the Hudson River, through those white-tiled, well illuminated and ventilated tubes, with my speedometer registering up around forty miles an hour, and with all the traffic in front of me and behind me, moving in the same direction, I cannot help realizing what a wonderful and inspiring undertaking has been accomplished in the building of the public-owned Holland Tunnel. It is hard to believe as we whiz through those tubes that over our heads somewhere may be passing the great ship Leviathan, or the mammoth ocean liners from other nations.

The Holland Tunnel is returning on its investment of forty-four million dollars, a net profit of over eleven per cent annually. Of course, it is Socialism for the States of New York and New Jersey to own this tremendously profitable property. Shall we remain Socialists in ventures like the Holland Tunnel? Some of our citizens vigorously claim that the Holland Tunnel and other such great earning projects as may be built to serve the motorist of the future should belong to the private transportation corporations. What do you think?

Up the Hudson River, a few miles, hanging high in the air is a sixty-six million dollar toll bridge, known as the George Washington Bridge. It is a publicly owned project and like the Holland Tunnel, the construction funds for the most part were derived from the sale of bonds, whose principal backing is the expectant toll earnings of the projects. In the eyes of many this great public profit paying venture is awfully close to Communism and is liable to lead the public in the direction of Socialistic principles in business, in the development of efficient national motor transportation service which may pay a cash profit to the nation and state governments.

The great bridge at Camden and Philadelphia cost to construct thirty-three million dollars. It is another public-owned toll bridge. It, like the other publicly owned toll projects which I have just mentioned, had to be fought for. There was a tremendous opposition to the construction of these three pro-

jects. The opposition was principally centered in the camps of the executives of the private-owned railroads.

I would be vigorously opposed to the Government ownership of the railroads, and would like to see the Government kept out of business wherever it is possible and practical to keep it out, but when it comes to the postal system, the military establishments, the school system and the highways, I stand with those who believe only public ownership should be tolerated.

Toll, how it terrorizes apparently! Many of our citizens who are generally calm and clear thinkers are greatly startled when their attention is called to the undeniable fact—the startling fact—that every highway in America, every street, every alley, even the private drive to the garage, yes, even the floor in the garage, are toll highways. How they have been deceived! But are they bitter when they find that this toll has been masked under the designation of gasoline tax? The motorists of America are paying annually over half a billion dollars in gasoline tax, and it is perfectly right that they should, because it goes towards paying the construction cost of our highways. But it is toll and it must be paid in advance for the right to drive upon the highways.

On the side of your motor is a liquid meter. You call it a carburetor and so do I, but as it measures the fuel which flows from the gas tank to your motor, it accurately measures the miles which you have in advance paid toll upon. This liquid meter or carbureter is set so that your car operates eight or ten or maybe fifteen or twenty miles to the gallon of gasoline. It continuously and faithfully decides when the mileage which you have paid for has been used, and before you can go further than the mileage which you have paid for that meter will stop your motor until you have paid for new miles which you may desire to drive. You cannot bribe that meter, you cannot bluff it, you cannot fool it. Therefore you accept its ultimatum and willingly and gladly pay the toll which it demands, but you get even with it by patting yourself on the back and saying, as with a gesture you wave your hand—"See all of these highways which I own!"

It is not the word toll nor the collecting of toll which the American people should rebel against. It is for them to deter-

mine who shall get the toll. If it is private corporations who demand toll for the movement of motor cars then we must say emphatically—"No, never!" But if the toll goes to us, the public, to pay the highway bill, then call it anything you want to, and it will be all "jake" with most of us.

No major plan comparable to the requirements for the solution of the nation's traffic problems can ever be undertaken or even efficiently considered, until the long tolerated parasitic economic political customs of the American people have been recognized as universally detrimental to our society and placed in those chapters of past history which deals with dragons and goblins and spooks and a multiplicity of superstitions built upon ignorance.

Before we make any concerted constructive and effective efforts to actually materialize such colossal plans as will be required in intelligently meeting the nation's motor transportation problems and other national problems we must make, through political revolution, a clean sweep of graft, corruption, red tape, and all of the other vicious political elements which generally go hand in hand with the foolish fallacy that loyalty to a political party machine is loyalty to government and must never be questioned.

Later in this book I will deal with the destructive practices perpetrated by vicious partisan machines under the guise of patriotism and loyalty. The smashing of the partisan loyalty in this nation is the first move which we must accomplish before any other great major national task can be efficiently engineered and executed. The greatest task of all is this first task. Every single political, material effort which will come after this first great smashing of the political policy of party loyalty, will be dwarfed into insignificance by the accomplishment of the rooting out of the treacherous and vicious control of Greed, which has for many years pulled the political levers which determine our states and nation's acts.

I have taken occasion to just touch upon this great task which must be performed in order to meet the stumbling block which you undoubtedly will hurl in my way as a challenge of the practicality of my suggestions when the present political control is considered. I am simply beating you to it. I agree

with you before you "spring" it. We must clean this country up by political revolution through the ballot box ere we can hope to plan and execute any major national constructive policies.

There are countless antiquated laws and customs which stand as a solid wall today and prevent the carrying out of any great national task in scope of the magnitude of this four hundred billion dollar nation. You may say to me—"You cannot change human nature." But I come right back at your old stock phrase with this—"Revolutions are born at the demand of masses of people, who are determined to change."

Staid tradition has always been the arch enemy of progress, and the energy expended in overcoming antiquated tradition often leaves the victor without energy or resource to do what progress demands. In time the ever mounting rebellion in the minds of the public against worn-out traditions severs and leashes and makes possible the accomplishment of requirements of advancing civilization.

At this moment we are standing on the verge of a gigantic and political national upheaval comparable with the period of the Renaissance, and with this fact in mind, we are permitted to plan the future to the maximum of conceptions possible in unleashed minds which are progressively and scientifically qualified to make the closest guess as to future requirements.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Speech in Springfield, Ill., June 26th, 1857.

"The plainest print can not be read through a gold eagle."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A Telegram and Two Letters, 1930

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM
October 3, 1930

"HON. HERBERT HOOVER, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, HON. JOHN TRUMBULL, GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT. EACH OF YOU HONORABLE GENTLEMEN HAVE SEVERAL TIMES HAD CALLED TO YOUR ATTENTION THE PROPOSED CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW YORK & NEW ENGLAND EXPRESS MOTORWAYS AS A MEANS FOR RELIEVING A SERIOUS TRAFFIC CONGESTION AND GREATLY INCREASING THE TAXABLE VALUES OF THIS SECTION OF THE NATION AND OFFERING EMPLOYMENT TO SCORES OF THOUSANDS OF NOW UNEMPLOYED MEN AND WOMEN. THE NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND EXPRESS MOTORWAYS PROJECT PROPOSED, OFFERS A GREAT POSSIBLE AND PRACTICABLE BUILDING PROGRAM AVAILABLE TO RELIEVE BUSINESS DEPRESSION THIS WINTER, IF YOU, PRESIDENT HOOVER, GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT AND GOVERNOR TRUMBULL, WILL NOW WITHOUT DELAY WORK IN UNITY AND PROVIDE THE OFFICIAL LEADERSHIP NECESSARY BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES OF NEW YORK AND CONNECTICUT. RAILROAD GROUPS OPPOSE THE BUILDING OF THE MUCH NEEDED NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND EXPRESS MOTORWAYS. YOU MUST EXPECT THE OPPOSITION OF THE ABOVE GROUPS IF YOU CHOOSE TO SUPPORT THE ORGANIZED BUSINESS MEN OF NEW YORK AND SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND WHO ARE SPONSORING THE MOTORWAYS PROJECT. TO PUT THE PROPOSED PROJECT UNDER WAY THIS WINTER WILL REQUIRE CALLING SPECIAL SESSIONS OF THE NEW YORK AND CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURES AT ONCE AND THE SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER THAT THE MAJOR BANKING COMBINES CAN BE BROUGHT INTO CO-OPERATIVE UNDERSTANDING AND ACTION WITH PRACTICAL BUSINESS MEN OF NEW YORK AND SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND IN SPITE OF ANY RAILROAD OPPOSITION TO THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF EXPRESS MOTORWAYS. NO MAN OF UNDERSTANDING CAN DENY THE NECESSITY FOR SUCH A MOTORWAYS IN THIS SECTION OF THE NATION; NONE CAN

DENY ITS PRACTICABILITY EITHER FROM A CONSTRUCTION OR ECONOMIC OR FINANCIAL STANDPOINT OF GOOD BUSINESS. WILL YOU THREE OFFICE HOLDERS AGREE TO MEET IN CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON AT ONCE AND DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT WITH THE ORGANIZED BUSINESS MEN AS REPRESENTED BY THE NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND MOTORWAYS ASSOCIATION. THE COMING WINTER WITH ITS APPROACHING THREATENING CHAOS FOR MILLIONS OF FAMILIES DEMANDS HEROIC ACTION NOW ALONG NON-POLITICAL LINES. ANSWER RESPECTFULLY REQUESTED AT ONCE.

(SIGNED) LESTER P. BARLOW
NEW YORK & NEW ENGLAND MOTORWAYS,
STAMFORD, CONN.

And here are a couple of letters wherein the battle rages between a political henchman and a "mechanical nut." The following is the political henchman's letter to the "mechanical nut," whom the political henchman observes as just another voting sucker:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 20, 1930.

Mr. Lester P. Barlow,
New York & New England Motorways Association,
Stamford, Connecticut.

Dear Sir:

Your telegram of October 3 to President Hoover, concerning the proposed construction of the New York and New England Motorways, has been referred to this Department for reply.

You state that the construction of this proposed motorway would serve as a means for relieving a serious traffic congestion, would increase the taxable values of the section traversed, and would offer employment during the coming winter to scores of thousands who now are unemployed, but that in order to get the proposed project under way special sessions of the legislatures of the States of Connecticut and New York would be necessary in order to enact enabling legislation. You further suggest that the President, together with the Governors of Connecticut

and New York, agree to meet in Washington at once to discuss the proposition with those interested in its promotion.

A feature of the proposed motorway which you do not mention is that it undoubtedly contemplates the levy and collection of tolls for the use of same by all traffic. In other words, it would constitute the initial step in reviving the principle of toll roads which has been discarded almost entirely by all States where such roads heretofore have existed. This Department is opposed to the principle of toll roads and is opposed to any plan which contemplates or involves a revival of that principle. The several States and the Federal Government are co-operating in the expenditure of many millions of dollars each year in the development and improvement of a system of interstate highways which will accommodate all reasonable requirements of traffic. Furthermore, there is no agency of the Federal Government which could act with legal authority with reference to any of the suggestions contained in your telegram, nor does it appear that the States of Connecticut and New York, or either of them, or any citizens thereof, would be authorized to proceed with the proposition which you advance without first securing authority therefor from the legislatures of those States. This, as you state, would require special sessions of the State legislatures, and the Federal Government would have no authority in the matter of calling such special sessions, that being solely within the power of the Governors of those States. As to its affording relief to the unemployed, it is obvious that so much time would be required to secure necessary State legislation and to procure rights of way, make surveys, prepare plans and specifications, arrange financing, and get ready to begin actual construction that the winter would be gone before any unemployment relief which it might afford could be available.

It, therefore, is not believed that there is any action which may be taken by the Federal Government in regard to the subject matter of your telegram.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) C. V. MARVIN,
Acting Secretary.

The answering letter of the "mechanical nut" to the political henchman is as follows:

October 22nd, 1930.

Mr. C. V. Marvin, Acting Secretary,
Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of October 20th in answer to my telegram to President Hoover on October 3rd, 1930, the subject matter being the New York and New England express motorways.

So that there will be no misunderstanding on your part, let me inform you that the joint telegram to the President and the Governors of New York and Connecticut, sent out from this office, was not sent with any idea that there would be any constructive thoughts from the Administration at Washington or from the Executive offices of the States of New York and Connecticut. This telegram was sent as one of the means we are using to break through a smoke-screen which the present campaign of both Democrats and Republicans are throwing up. Personally, I have had too many years of experience with various administrations in Washington and know the President too well to expect any constructive, practical efforts to relieve unemployment; and we do not propose to let the Administration get by with any of its political shadow-boxing if we can help it. The telegram was sent to the President so that it could later be used as a reference and for publication.

The letter from the Department of Agriculture signed by you, is a sample of the caliber of the intelligence with which the President is surrounding himself. There are just two ways in which we can account for the text of your letter—either you are a political henchman or you do not know you are alive. According to the principles that you claim the Administration stands for in your Department, you should call out the army and dynamite the Holland Tunnel in New York City. This is a toll line two miles long and a great success, highly popular and paying to the public 10½% net annually on a forty-four million dollar investment. You should send over the Hudson River a fleet of bombing planes and blow up the new Fort Lee Bridge, another toll project which you state the Federal Government is opposed to. The fleet of planes should con-

tinue to Philadelphia and destroy the new Camden River Bridge, a thirty-three million dollar project, the earnings of which now prove that it will pay for its entire cost, without taxation, in thirteen years. And don't forget to blow down the Bear Mountain Bridge, which paid for its entire cost in four and one-half years, without taxation. Then refuel the planes, take on more bombs, and go down to Florida to dynamite the Gandy Bridge, which is a toll bridge, but saves about a hundred miles in detour. And, oh, yes, dynamite the Peace Bridge at Buffalo.

May I also call your attention to this fact, that legislative action by the Congress of the United States has set up authority whereby your very Department may assist the states in building toll bridges, which you now state you are so much opposed to. Maybe you are not familiar with the fact that the Federal Government is appropriating one hundred and twenty-five million dollars each year which is being paid to the states as an aid in building highways to feed these atrocious toll projects which you state must never be tolerated.

You state that toll highways are not acceptable in this country. Can you show me one foot of highway in America that is not a toll highway? If you will take one thousand dollars of the gasoline tax, one thousand dollars of the Holland Tunnel toll and one thousand dollars of the Camden Bridge toll, and put these three piles of money, two of toll and one of tax, on a table, I will defy you to tell me which is toll and which is tax. Each is a tax on mileage. The American Petroleum Institute has recently published a booklet which calls the gasoline tax, toll; and informs the American public how much the toll is, which is as follows: Where the two-cent tax is in vogue, we pay one cent for every six miles of travel; where the three-cent tax is levied, one cent for every four miles. A four-cent tax per gallon of fuel results in the payment of a one-cent toll in every three miles; and a five-cent tax, one-cent in every two miles. They state that we are now paying annually in America, one-half a billion dollars in toll.

The trouble with a lot of you fellows is that you are so politically hidebound and so continuously frightened by political shadows that you do not care to talk in plain American English. I am giving you a sample of plain American English in this letter. I am an expert in transportation as a result of years and years of experience and engineering qualifications. You are Acting Secretary of Agriculture, and I do not propose to have you or anyone

else of your kindred partisan crowd tell me that I do not know what I am talking about.

You state in your letter that the President or the Federal Government has no authority to do anything in the matter spoken of in our telegram. The President of the United States is not a prisoner; neither is the Governor of New York nor the Governor of Connecticut. There is no law to prevent the President of the United States from requesting these other two gentlemen to meet with him to take the initiative to inaugurate a constructive program. It is initiative in this country that counts, and not the political strategy of partisan politics. There has been a lot of shouting about the qualifications of Mr. Hoover as an executive and as an engineering authority; and I want to inform you now that the first meeting the President had after the crash of the stock-market last year was on a Monday morning and those present were the President, the Leader of the Majority of the House, John Q. Tilson, Senator Lawrence C. Phipps, Chairman of the Post Roads Committee of the Senate, Senator John Robsion, champion of the Federal Aid Program, and myself. That morning we asked the President's support for the Phipps-Robsion Resolution, then before both Houses. This Resolution called for the study by the Federal Government of ways and means of determining the best methods of establishing a national system of express motorways, or portions of such a system as might be developed from time to time. At that meeting each of the gentlemen present with the President emphasized the great opportunity presented by this program to meet business depression and unemployment whenever it might occur in future years. And this was not the first time that the President was approached on this matter. He admitted to me three years before that the plan was a good one and should be carried out. That was while he was Secretary of Commerce; but as soon as he found that the railroad groups, the American Automobile Association and the Automobile Chamber of Commerce were opposed, he lay down to his masters. He has never been willing to support the proposition since.

The Phipps-Robsion Resolution has passed the United State Senate unanimously, but that means nothing to the Administration. Here, however, is a thing that the Administration loves to do as a service to the racketeers in high places. I attended as a member the recent meeting of the sixth International Road Congress, which was endorsed by our President, the Secretary of State, and the

Secretary of Agriculture—the Department which you serve—and resolutions were passed endorsing the building of through super-highways by the taxpayers of this nation (principally of the territory adjacent to and abutting these highways), and after construction is completed, the commercial traffic of passengers and freight to be turned over to the railroads as an absolute monopoly. Hurrah for the Administration!

No, you are not for toll highways. The letter which you have mailed to this office is the type of letter we desire to receive. We realize your Department is incapable of writing any other kind of a letter. Your letter will be mimeographed, the letter which you are now reading will be mimeographed, and the enclosures which you will receive with this letter are mimeographed; and a lot of voting people in this section of the country who are not satisfied and who will not accept the political bunkum of the Administration, will have a chance to decide for themselves as to who is right in this controversy.

I know President Hoover personally and have known him since the beginning of the war. I returned from England with him when he came back to take charge of the Food Administration. Mr. Hoover took me to the Chief of Operations of the United States Navy and introduced me as the principal advocate at that time for the use of the depth mine. I know a great deal of the present incumbents in Washington under his Administration. I am a Republican by birth, but by education a rebel, and I am not alone. Unless I miss my guess, there is a political revolution brewing in this country which can best be described in the terms of "coming events cast their shadows before." The American people are too smart to resort to the torch and the bomb, but they found out how to use the ballot in the Northwest twelve years ago, and it looks to me as though they are going to use the ballot in the eastern part of the United States in the near future, in a similar manner, to sweep into oblivion most of the present mass of political bunkites.

Thank you for your letter. We will make good use of it.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) LESTER P. BARLOW.

Proposed Method for Financing the Construction of the National System of Express Motorways

THE financing of the construction of a National System of Express Motorways will run into huge amounts of money. Advance planning from many angles, efficiently co-ordinated, is absolutely necessary to the successful creating of such a National System of Express Motorways, if the burden of the expense for such an undertaking is not to be added to general taxation by the federal and state governments.

The initiative for the establishment of a National System of Express Motorways must be taken by the Federal Government. That initiative must be by the action of the Congress of the United States. We must have a Federal Act establishing the United States Express Motorways Commission. At another place in this book I have taken up the subject and the duties of the above proposed United States Motorways Commission.

There are plenty of men available who could be placed on the above proposed Commission and who are capable of thinking fast and reasonably accurate and who could agree and offer to Congress and the nation, without delay, practical plans for the carrying out of the materialization of the proposed National Express Motorways System. When such a Federal Motorways Commission is established it may consider the following proposals as one of the possible and practical means for financing the Express Motorways undertaking.

I propose that the Federal Government, through the United States Treasury, issue United States Express Motorways gold bonds; these bonds to draw interest at five per cent per annum. The release of these Express Motorways bonds would be in amounts equal to pay current bills of the Motorways construction and other expenses pertaining to it.

Any state which desired to construct within its boundaries any portion of the proposed Express Motorways as approved in the plans of the United States Express Motorways Commission could make application to the Commission for permis-

sion to proceed with the construction of its particular part of the Express Motorways System.

If the United States Express Motorways Commission decided that any particular proposed Motorways section could reasonably be expected to be a sound investment, and the possibilities appeared to be that it could amortize, through its earnings, in due time, the expense of its construction then the United States Express Motorways Commission would grant the authority to the state to proceed with the construction and would notify the United States Treasury from time to time to release to the state the funds derived from the sale of Express Motorways bonds for the purpose of paying the current construction expenses of that particular Motorways unit.

In order to assure the investors that there would be no risk in the purchasing of these motorway bonds, the United States Government and the states which used the funds from the sale of the bonds, would guarantee the interest on the bonds until they had been retired. During the construction period of any unit of the Express Motorways, the United States government and the state within whose boundary that particular Express Motorways unit was being built would be required to pay the interest upon the actual amount of funds used during that construction period. United States Express Motorways bonds would be sold by the United States Treasury only up to the amount of funds necessary to pay current expenses. The United States Government would assume the responsibility for guaranteeing one-half of the interest, and the state or states which were building the units of the Express Motorways would assume a like responsibility to guarantee the other half of the interest.

When any portion of the Express Motorways was thrown open to traffic all of the toll earnings above the operation expenses and the amount of annual interest due on the construction bonds would go to the federal and state treasuries until there had been a refund paid to those treasuries equal to the amount of interest which they had advanced during the construction period.

Thus, it may be seen that the federal and state treasuries would be involved only to the extent of advancing the interest

on the bonds during the construction period, and they would be reasonably assured of the return of money equivalent to the amount which they had advanced. After the advanced interest had been completely repaid to the state and national treasuries, all of the surplus above the annual interest payment on the construction bonds would be placed in a fund for the purpose of amortizing the bonds at a future date.

Probably not more than two billion dollars would ever be required as original money for the construction of the National System of Express Motorways. Within five years the states would have the Express Motorways units for their respective large cities completed and in operation. They would also have a pretty definite idea as to the possible future earnings of these Express Motorways units and it would then be possible to determine an advanced plan of financing additional Motorways construction upon the credit of the known earnings of the Motorways units then in operation.

The inter-city links of the Express Motorways would undoubtedly be the next big step forward in the plans for the construction of the national wide Express Motorways System, and it is entirely possible that these inter-city links could be planned and created through funds derived from the sale of United States Express Motorways bonds, which would be secured by the known earnings of the Express Motorways units already in operation.

Plans should be made to prevent any unfair advantage being taken of people who desire to invest in the United States Express Motorways bonds. The dominating financial elements in this country insist that all bond issues, whether government or private, must pay tribute to "High Finance." This practice is one of the most vicious rackets with which we, as industrial citizens, have to contend. The American people should put their foot down on this racket by establishing federal laws which will prevent "High Finance" from fleecing the American people who buy United States Express Motorways bonds, or any other bonds.

These motorways bonds should be sold directly through the small banks. The high financial racket should not be allowed to touch them. A fair remuneration should be made to the

legitimate and honest bankers for handling these bonds. The bonds should be sold at par.

The proposals which I am making here for a National System of Express Motorways, if accepted by the Government of the United States as the basis for financing Express Motorways, would be a terrific blow at the "High Finance" racket. Therefore, there will be plenty of opposition developed to any such program being officially established by law.

One of the reasons why this opposition will certainly be developed is that "High Finance" considers that all financing of government or private projects is their legitimate prey. The result is they demand and insist upon and get the opportunity to underwrite practically all financing. They take as their tribute from five to twenty-five per cent of the cash which investors put up for original financing.

An expenditure amounting to five, six and maybe as high as ten billion dollars in the next twenty-five or thirty years in the construction of the National Express Motorways, if financed as I have proposed, would deprive these financial parasites of what they consider would be their legitimate loot. Furthermore, every dollar ever invested in the Express Motorways bonds would be a dollar which they would prefer to have invested in securities which they are marketing.

Another thing—there would be a big demand for the United States Express Motorways bonds, for back of these bonds would be the entire resources of the nation. No one would be afraid of them and the interest yield would be good. They would be the preferred investment of the American people. There is no doubt that there would be a long waiting list of purchasers.

As an evidence of this being probably true, I wish to cite a fact in reference to the confidence which the American people put in Federal Gold Bonds. On June 15th, 1931, the United States Treasury offered a bond issue of eight hundred million dollars. This issue carried an interest rate of three and one-half per cent and was tax exempt. In twelve hours this issue was oversubscribed by five and one-half billion dollars—oversubscribed almost seven times the amount of the issue.

At the same time we find private securities, due to corrupt

practices of "High Finance," lying almost dormant at the lowest values recorded in years. The United States Express Motorways bonds which I have proposed should not be sold tax free. The tax exempt bond is just part of the plan of "High Finance" to "gyp" the taxpayers of the nation. The tax exempt bonds permit "High Finance" to place billions of dollars in investments upon which they are not required to pay taxes for the support of the government. This leaves the poor people and those not in a position to buy huge amounts of these bonds as the tax burden carriers.

It is not necessary to waive taxes on bonds in order to sell them. We should prefer to pay a higher rate of interest but not exempt the bonds from taxation. Therefore I have proposed that the interest rate on the Express Motorways bonds be an amount equal to five per cent.

The citizens of the United States have in savings accounts, according to records available, over fifty billion dollars. It seems to me that it would be an easy matter to sell at par, United States Express Motorways bonds, to the amount of two or three billion dollars. People would draw their money from savings accounts, where they are getting a lower rate of interest than the motorways bonds would pay, and would invest their savings in the government Motorways bonds. It would, of course, be impossible for more than a small portion of the present savings in the savings account to be invested in these Express Motorways bonds, due to the fact that the issue outstanding would perhaps never amount to four billion dollars.

Here is a thought for the 72nd Congress—the newly elected Congress—which will convene the first part of December, 1931.

The 71st Congress which adjourned last spring, appropriated around two hundred million dollars for emergency programs. Practically all of this money was expended in so-called relief measures, rather than practical, advanced economic plans and it is gone forever. Most of it really went into financing adventures in a national depression publicity campaign, which greatly intensified and accentuated the so-called economic depression.

In remote places there has been relief noted, but for the most part the principal result of this huge amount of money appro-

priated by the Federal Congress has been to frighten even more of the American people and cause them to curtail investments and expenditures.

This portion of this book is being written on the sixth day of July, 1931, and it is undeniably the truth that we are no better off economically this minute than we were last year. We are worse off now economically than any time since 1929. The reason that we are worse off is that "High Finance" has not permitted any economic stabilizing plan to be considered by the administration of the national government, which will in any way lessen the opportunities of "High Finance" to perpetrate their customary questionable practices.

Let us see what two hundred million dollars might have done in the way of interest on United States Express Motorways bonds. Let us consider for example that a two billion dollar Express Motorways construction program had been authorized by Congress last year—the construction cost to be met by the sale of United States Express Motorways bonds; these bonds to yield interest at five per cent per annum. (Please keep in mind that the Express Motorways are to be operated as profit-earnings projects, through the charging of toll. The toll will pay the interest on the bonds and provide funds to retire the bonds.)

That would seemingly mean one hundred million dollars per year which the state and federal governments would be required to pay as interest during the construction period. The fact of the matter is that the federal and state governments would not pay one hundred million dollars a year interest on the full two billion dollars. Please follow me carefully here. It would take approximately four years to construct Express Motorways in the large cities of the nation, and would require financing to the extent of about two billion dollars. As all of the two billion dollars could not be expended the first day the construction started, but would be expended in various amounts over a period of four years, and as it would be in the plans that bonds would be sold only as funds were needed, the interest on the money actually expended would start only when the bonds were actually sold.

To average up the expenditures for the four years on a semi-

annual basis we would expend two hundred and fifty million dollars every six months for a period of four years. The first year would probably prove to be the year of the least expenditures, while the last year would undoubtedly show the greatest expenditures for any one of the four years. If the expenditure for the first six months was actually two hundred and fifty million dollars, the interest charge, figuring that bonds to that amount had been sold prior to the starting of the work, would be six million, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The following six months new money would have to be raised and expended, and at the end of the first year we would have spent five hundred million dollars. We would have paid an interest charge of six and a quarter million dollars the first half of the year, and interest of twelve and a half million dollars the second half of the first year, making a total interest item of eighteen million, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the first year.

Each year, the amount of interest due would be that required to pay for the new money expended during the current year, plus that which had been extended in the years prior. The total amount of interest on the two billion dollar construction program, based upon a schedule for completion in four years, would total around two hundred million dollars.

A much greater increased payment of interest would be required if the United States Express Motorways bonds were sold under a plan, which took into consideration that the sale of the bonds themselves should yield a great profit to the conventional and usual so-called banking underwriters. Such generally allowed profit should not be tolerated by the American people in the sale of the United States Express Motorways bonds. They should be sold for but one purpose and that purpose should be to provide cash for the construction of Express Motorways. They should be put in the hands of the purchasers at the least possible expense to the Government, and because of the undoubtedly big demand for these bonds, they should be sold only as needed to pay current expenses. If the demand was greater than the amount of bonds available, then the sale of these bonds should be restricted to small blocks, rather than large single purchases.

We should endeavor to change the whole aspect of bond selling in this country. The sale should be restricted to the purpose for which it is originally planned—to meet financing of industry—not speculation, and not material for financial hockshops.

If we will make up our minds to stick to legitimate, clean, business financing in the sale of the United States Motorways bonds and not allow in the planning of the Motorways, the political log-rolling and pork-barrel customary procedures; if we will keep the grafter, the lame duck and the incompetent out, we can establish an Express Motorways construction program, scheduled for its completion in a four-year period, which would be the time required to build Express Motorways in most of our major cities, costing a total of two billion dollars. The amount of interest required to be paid during that period on the funds required for construction would approximately duplicate the amount which the last Congress appropriated for so-called charity and emergencies.

As soon as these Express Motorways were thrown open to traffic, their toll earnings would start returning to the treasuries of the state and federal governments, cash equivalent to the amount which was advanced by the federal and state governments as interest, and in the end, instead of being a two hundred million dollar expenditure, which could never be recovered, the federal and state governments would have their advanced money all back—the nation would have a two billion dollar Express Motorways System in operation, and not a dime would be out of the treasuries of the states or the nation or the pockets of the American people. We would build the Express Motorways by capitalizing the present waste due to the traffic jam.

There is nothing complicated about these proposals. There should not be about any financing proposition, except that it is generally deliberately made so to fool and deceive and mystify the citizens. The difference between financing the self-amortizing Express Motorways project such as I have proposed and along the lines of financing which I have suggested, and the appropriating of money for charity purposes is that one is real and good business and the other is artificial and exceed-

ingly destructive of the confidence of all to whom it is supposed to bring relief.

The tremendous amount of work required in the construction of the Motorways, and the vast supply of materials necessary, would have a very decided effect for good. The circulation of money due to wages which would be spent and the increased activities of industry furnishing materials and supplies for such a vast market as the construction and operation of Express Motorways would provide, would accelerate all industry.

A tremendous private building program would be initiated directly because of the effects of the construction of the Express Motorways. There would be a great increase in property values in the territories affected by the Express Motorways.

There can be no doubt that the initiating of a nation-wide Express Motorways construction project would greatly accelerate a return to better economic conditions. Such a program would be instantly recognized, not as an emergency program of a charitable nature, or as an artificial program, but as an extremely necessary and economically sound procedure.

There are other possibilities for the development of national and state projects of colossal character which would be just as economically sound to initiate as I claim the Express Motorways project to be. When we free ourselves from the control of "High Finance" we will be able to move forward at tremendous speed—economic depression will be unknown and cannot re-occur—national fear will fade—national confidence will advance.

The financing of a national system of publicly owned Express Motorways should be the simplest part of the entire program, and it will be when the strong right arm of the new economic order which is coming, flashes out and drives a hard fist straight at the jaw of that damnable parasite—"High Finance."

Excerpt from Lincoln's Speech in the United States House of Representatives, June 20th, 1848.

"The true rule, in determining to embrace or reject anything, is not whether it have any evil in it, but whether it have more of evil than of good. There are few things wholly evil or wholly good. Almost everything, especially of government policy, is an inseparable compound of the two; so that our best judgment of the preponderance between them is continually demanded."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Express Motorways Legislation

HERETOFORE in this book I have referred to several instances when Herbert Hoover was made acquainted with the fundamental plans for the establishment of a publicly owned nation-wide Express Motorways System. The first time to my knowledge that he discussed such proposals was on October 29th, 1925. This discussion took place in Mr. Hoover's office at the United States Department of Commerce, when I was present. The next time when I was present during a discussion with him on these same proposals was at the White House on November 18th, 1929, just after the so-called stock market crash. Three prominent leaders of Congress and men closely associated with the Hoover administration at that time, discussed with the President the plans for the Express Motorways, and requested his support so that they might expedite a bill through the Congress authorizing the official planning of a nation-wide Express Motorways System.

The leaders of Congress who discussed the above with the President were:

Representative John Q. Tilson, Majority Leader of the House of Congress.

Representative John M. Robsion, the sponsor of the now famous federal aid program for national highways.

United States Senator Lawrence C. Phipps, chairman of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee of the Senate.

The following is the bill for which they requested the support of the President:

PHIPPS-ROBSION JOINT RESOLUTION
INTRODUCED IN CONGRESS JUNE 4, 1929
CREATING A COMMISSION TO STUDY PROPOSALS FOR A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EXPRESS MOTORWAYS, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That a commission is hereby created to be known as the United States Motorways Commission, to be composed of two Members of the Senate, one from each of the two major parties, and appointed by the President of the Senate; two Members of the House of Representatives, one from each of the two major parties, and appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and eight individuals to be appointed by the President of the United States, one representing the Department of Agriculture, one representing the Department of Commerce, one representing the Post Office Department, one representing the Department of War, one representing the Department of Labor, one representing the Treasury Department, one representing the Interstate Commerce Commission, and one (not connected with any governmental agency) who is experienced in industrial, military, aviation and traffic problems. Any vacancy occurring in the commission shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment. No member of the commission shall receive any compensation for his services as such member.

Sec. 2. The commission is authorized and directed to study proposals for the establishment of a national system of express motorways, with a view to making recommendations to Congress with respect to the establishment and maintenance of such a system. The commission shall make a report to Congress on or before the first day of the first regular session of the Seventy-second Congress and annually after such day, and shall file a copy of each report so made with the President of the United States.

Sec. 3. Any officer or employee of the United States may supply the commission with such information relating to any matter under investigation or study by the commission and contained in the records of the office of such officer or employee, as the commission may request. In administering this resolution the commission is authorized to make use, so far as consistent with the best interests of the public service, of agencies, officers, and employees in the executive branch of the Government. It shall also have power to hold hearings, subpoena witnesses and administer oaths to witnesses.

Sec. 4. The commission may make such expenditures, including expenditures for actual traveling and subsistence expenses, for personal services at the seat of governmen and elsewhere (without regard to the civil-service laws or the Classification Act of 1923, as amended), and

for printing and binding, as are necessary for the efficient administration of its functions under this resolution. All expenses of the commission shall be allowed and paid upon the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the chairman of the commission.

Sec. 5. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this agreement.

The President not only failed to support the above measure even though requested to do so by prominent administration leaders but he was actually opposed to such measure being enacted. With his opposition and the opposition of prominent railroad executives as well as the opposition of other executives of industry and large so-called banking combines, the Bill was blocked from being voted on in the House of Congress. After Representatives Tilson and Robsion and Senator Phipps had failed to get the President's support, they returned to their colleagues and commenced work in support of the Bill, without the President's sanction. Senator Phipps put the Bill before the Post Office and Post Roads Committee on the Senate side and this committee was unanimous in reporting the Bill out favorably. On the floor of the Senate the Bill was passed by unanimous vote—there was no spoken opposition to the Bill in the Senate.

I was told personally by many of the Senators that they thought it was an excellent piece of proposed legislation and would go far if enacted into law in alleviating industrial depressions. The Phipps-Robsion Joint Resolution was drawn through the co-operative efforts of the following men: Senator Phipps, Representative Robsion, Representative Tilson, the Honorable Thomas Macdonald, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, and myself.

The Bill was carefully drawn and was actually written by experts in the Legislative Service Bureau of the Congress. At the time the Bill was introduced in both houses of Congress, the following statements were issued to the press by the two official sponsors:

STATEMENT BY
THE HON. LAWRENCE C. PHIPPS
United States Senator
71st Congress
Chairman of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee, United States Senate

"In introducing the joint resolution with Representative Robsion for the creating of a United States Express Motorways Commission, I believe we are offering a measure which will save years of haphazard investigation as well as hundreds of millions of dollars to the taxpayers of this nation.

If this commission is created, it will handle the problem in scope which will be nation-wide. The plans will call for a great system of Express Motorways, the initial projects will be put into operation where traffic conditions most demand.

It is time to consider the feasibility of public-owned express highways, especially in view of the recent efforts to obtain private concessions of this nature. Roadways upon which faster and more direct travel will be permitted are becoming a necessity. The question involved is whether the United Sates should take a hand. The proposed investigation will aid Congress to determine that matter with a view not only toward solving the traffic problems, but also the question of unemployment.

I understand that the resolution has the approval of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, and early action by Congress is expected."

STATEMENT BY
THE HON. JOHN M. ROBSION
71st Congress
Representative of Kentucky
Sponsor of the Federal Aid Program for National Highways

"We propose in the resolution the creating of a federal commission to study the subject of national Express Motorways and to propose ways and means for meeting the problems involved.

We believe the following governmental divisions should

be represented on the proposed United States Motorways Commission:

The President.
Department of the Treasury.
War Department.
Post Office Department.
Department of Commerce.
Department of Agriculture.
Department of Labor.
Interstate Commerce Commission.
United States Senate.
House of Representatives.

With such a commission in existence, it would be possible for the first time for a great many worthy suggestions for a national system of Express Motorways to be presented to a federal agency with authority to co-ordinate the interests of all of the federal branches and make a comprehensive and thorough report to Congress. Congress would have sufficient confidence in such a report to give the nation quick action tending to relieve the present traffic chaos. The creation of such a commission would undoubtedly save years of time and study and hundreds of millions of dollars to the taxpayers of this nation.

There are many valuable suggestions and plans, and beyond a doubt practical ways and means of working out an Express Motorways System adequate for the needs of the American people. The plan should be nation-wide, and although the initial projects put into operation should be where traffic conditions most demand, these should be carefully planned as a part of a national hook-up scheme before construction starts.

The encroachment by private corporations upon the highways of the United States through the medium of permanent toll bridges and already short pieces of permanent toll roads, must be met through adequate state and national action for public-owned express highways, or the nation as a whole is bound to face gigantic economic losses which will be taken as profits by private corporations through the toll medium. Any extended delay on the part of the Federal Government to co-operate with the various states to settle definitely the Express Motorways problem will permit private groups to obtain the very cream of any such proposed Express Motorways links or units. We cite two recent attempts by private interests to obtain important highway concessions—the

recent attempt in the state of New Jersey of a corporation to obtain the right-of-way by legislative act from Philadelphia to Atlantic City, and the more recent attempt of a private corporation to obtain by legislative action a right-of-way of a private toll road from New York to Boston.

The citizens of the United States look to President Hoover to solve the unemployment situation, and they also expect him to straighten out the national traffic tangle.

We could tackle the problems of unemployment and National Express Motorways as a joint problem, and we could prepare to meet at the same time all of the problems relative to the subject.

The financing and creating of a national system of Express Motorways would relieve practically all unemployment in this country. There would be increased property valuation in the United States of several billions of dollars. A long period of prosperity would be guaranteed, and the Express Motorways would be one of the greatest achievements in our history."

Even without the President's support I felt sure that the Bill would be passed and become law, and so I started an intensive drive through the proposal that the first unit of the national system of Express Motorways be built between New York City and New Haven, Connecticut. In that locality I felt could best be demonstrated the success of such an undertaking. Again I found almost universal interest and support, chambers of commerce, business men's clubs and others requesting that I come before them and explain the proposals.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad officials at that time gave no indication that they would oppose the construction of the Express Motorways through the districts which they serve. We were proposing that the New Haven Railroad have the exclusive right over the Express Motorways, for the operation of passenger bus service. We were also suggesting other concessions which would protect them against unfair competition of motor truck freighting. The concessions which we were proposing to the New Haven Railroad were all predicated upon the possibilities that the railroad could and

would greatly augment its service to the public through lower New England, by the co-ordinating of the rail and express motor service.

Some of the largest industrial and commercial organizations in this country, expressed to me through their officers, their willingness to co-operate and to help bring about in the shortest possible time the actual building of this great project. Depression was already upon the nation and here was one opportunity to not only alleviate the depression, but perhaps break it. Official representatives from half a dozen major American industries had agreed to meet in New York City and donate a fund sufficient to carry on the plans and surveys, preliminary to the passing of legislation necessary by the State of New York and the State of Connecticut. There did not seem to be any serious opposition anywhere, although I was told by many who claimed they were "in the know" of politics, that I could not hope to succeed in getting an enabling measure passed by the New York Legislature and signed by Governor Roosevelt.

The political wiseacres who were making the prediction that the New York Republican controlled Legislature and the New York Democrat Governor would be the stumbling block, did not for a second cause those of us who were working for the development of the Express Motorways to hesitate in our efforts. I took the opportunity to send Governor Roosevelt an extensive report on the proposals for Express Motorways. I went to Westchester County, New York, after I had been fortunate enough to get an appointment with Mr. William Ward, who lives there, and who is often referred to as one of the Republican bosses of the New York Legislature. Mr. Ward lost no time in telling me that the proposition looked good to him and that we could count upon his support.

Shortly after this visit with Mr. Ward, I received word that Governor Roosevelt had honored my request for an appointment with him, to discuss the matter of Express Motorways. With my friend and co-worker, Mr. Wendell W. Chase, I went to Albany. There again on all sides of us were the political wise-ones, insisting that our proposed political efforts were hopeless. They were strong in their assertions that the Demo-

crat Governor would never support a measure sponsored by the Republicans, who were the majority members of the Legislature, and that any bill introduced by the Democrat minority could never hope to have the support of the Republican majority.

It was about noon and I had to wait a few minutes for my appointment with the Governor. He was sitting at his desk with his lunch before him. I had never talked with the Governor up to this time, but I stepped into his presence determined to give him a sales talk such as he had never experienced. I was "loaded for bear," but his first shot blew me clear out of the water. I shall never forget it. He turned towards me with one of those wonderful smiles for which he is famous—a smile which beamed all over his face (he must have noticed my serious expression). He put out his hand to me and said in the friendliest possible way—"Hello, Barlow! I understand you have a wonderful plan for the development of a national system of Express Motorways. I want you to sit down and tell me all about it."

I looked at him undoubtedly with surprise and then was more surprised as I heard myself saying:

"Governor! You have destroyed the best sales talk I have ever planned."

At that he laughed outright. I sat down and experienced one of the most pleasant interviews that I have ever had with any public official. After I had thoroughly explained the proposition, the Governor said: "I think your proposition is one of the finest and cleanest and most generous proposals in the interest of the public that I have ever had presented to me."

I then explained to him the prophecies that had been made to me in regard to the political situation which then prevailed at Albany, because of the majority Republican Legislature and a Democrat Governor. The Governor was not long in offering a solution. He said: "Politics should not enter into the proposals which you are making. Take your proposal to the Republicans of the Legislature. Ask them to present the measure and if they succeed in getting it passed I will sign it."

As I rose to leave, Governor Roosevelt, still smiling, said: "Oh, Barlow! If and when the Republicans introduce the Bill,

you go immediately to the newspaper boys and tell them to see me."

A few days later the Bill was introduced. It happened to be introduced late in the afternoon. I tipped the newspaper men off to see the Governor, and at midnight in New York City, the morning papers came out with headlines on the front page—"The New York and New Haven Express Motorways—a Two Hundred Million Dollar Project." The newspapers carried a statement from the Governor of New York, saying he would give his support and backing to the motorways proposals. Needless to say there were those of us who enjoyed his little political scoop over the Republicans who had introduced the Bill. I am grateful to the Republican leaders who helped me and appreciate the efforts of the Honorable W. W. Westall, State Senator, who was the chief sponsor of the measure in Albany, but I got a great kick out of Governor Roosevelt's way of going contrary to the prophecies of the politically wise. In my opinion there is a lot to admire in the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt.

At the time the Motorways Bill was introduced at Albany, Representative John Q. Tilson, Majority Leader of the House in the Federal Congress, sent to New York Senator W. W. Westall, the following telegram:

POSTAL TELEGRAPH
TELEGRAM

NA616 184 GOVT 1930 APR 8 PM 5 15

ST WASHINGTON DC 8 420P

SENATOR W W WESTALL
ALBANY NY

I AM DEEPLY INTERESTED IN THE PURPOSE OF A PLAN ADVOCATED BY LESTER P BARLOW FOR ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EXPRESS MOTORWAYS AND IF YOUR BILL IS DRAWN TO CARRY OUT THIS PURPOSE AS I UNDERSTAND IT IS IT HAS MY HEARTY SUPPORT. I HAVE GIVEN MY SUPPORT TO A BILL NOW BEFORE CONGRESS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MOTORWAYS COMMISSION WHICH IS ALSO SPONSORED BY MR. BARLOW. I HAVE KNOWN LESTER P BARLOW FOR MANY YEARS AND HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE IN HIS INTEGRITY. HE HAS BEEN URGING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EXPRESS

MOTORWAYS FOR SOME CONSIDERABLE TIME AND I AM CONVINCED THAT HE IS ACTUATED BY THE HIGHEST MOTIVES OF PUBLIC SERVICE. THE PRESENT UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN MY OPINION WARRANTS IMMEDIATE ACTION IN THE DIRECTION OF HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENT ALONG SOUND LINES. I BELIEVE THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE HAS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO DO A NATIONAL SERVICE BY PASSING THIS BILL AND MAKING A START ON A NATIONAL EXPRESS MOTORWAYS SYSTEM. IF A NEW YORK BOSTON EXPRESS HIGHWAY IS BUILT I HOPE IT WILL BE A MODEL FOR THE NATION.

(SIGNED) JOHN Q. TILSON.

There were only a few more days left of the scheduled New York Legislation session. It looked as though the Bill would pass and we were elated in the belief that the big job would start and that soon America would have the opportunity of knowing what a real Express Motorways could be. Then the railroads hit. Then the power of money and greed stepped forward, and then went smash for the time being at least, all of our plans and all of our work. The Bill had to die in committee, and again we had that famous statement before us—"The public be damned!" Leaders of industry in New York and so-called bankers who had been interested in the proposal immediately withdrew all signs of their support and I was told distinctly by some of them that they would not go up against the opposition of "High Finance." I was also shown in every instance that which I already knew—the close interlacing control of a variety of major industries, through the interlocked boards of directors.

I then returned to Washington to get the Express Motorways Bill passed, if possible, by the Congress. As I have said before, we got it by the Senate unanimous. Then I got another kick by "High Finance." Representative John Q. Tilson, the Majority Leader of the House of Congress (for years I have gloried in his friendship) said to me, "Lester, you have embarrassed me more than any man with whom I have had dealings since I have been in public life. We cannot hope to pass the Motorways Bill through the House of Congress. The railroad opposition and others will not allow us to take the bill from the committee."

This meant that again "High Finance," in control of the railroads of America, dictated to the leaders of Congress that the members of Congress should not be given the opportunity to vote on the Express Motorways Bill. It had to be held in the committee and die—and there it did die at the orders of "High Finance."

President Hoover and all of the caboodle of his "High Finance" backers fear the newly-elected Congress which is scheduled to convene in regular session next December. They have reasons to fear it, when they think in terms of political machines. When the new Congress meets there will be seen, no doubt, the wrecking of powerful political machine gearing and the bending of political party connecting rods. Probably several old boilers will explode, but whatever happens the Express Motorways Bill will be introduced again when Congress convenes, and "High Finance" may have another try at blocking its passage, but they won't succeed. There will be a lot of us walking around with political shotguns, loaded with political rock salt, to be blown into the hides of "High Finance" when they try to block popular legislation in the next Congress.

Fragments from Lincoln's Speech on Government, July 1st, 1854.

The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere. The desirable things which the individuals of a people cannot do, or cannot well do, for themselves, fall into two classes; those which have relations to wrongs, and those which have not. Each of these branch off into an infinite variety of subdivision.

The first—that in relation to wrong—embraces all crimes, misdemeanors, and non-performance of contracts. The other embraces all which in its nature, and without wrong, requires combined action, as public roads and highways, public schools, charities, pauperism, orphanage, estates of the deceased, and the machinery of governments itself.

From this appears that if all men were just, there would still be some, though not so much, need of government."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The United States Government Has Great Need for an Express Motorways Commission

IT is apparent to many of the people of this nation that sooner or later a great system of Express Motorways must be planned and created. It is expected that a National System of Express Motorways would cost huge sums of money. Practical people will recognize the necessity for making an extensive study of the great mass of subjects involved in creating such a system of motorways before actual work of construction is started. We must have a clear and complete plan of just what we are going to do. The people of this nation should not start on such a gigantic venture until the subject has been reduced to a comprehensive, practical and thoroughly co-ordinated plan.

Few people realize what a vast field of study must be covered before any co-ordinated plan can be offered to Congress for the creating of Express Motorways. Such study calls for a federal commission that is representative of every federal agency having major interests in the subject of Express Motorways. This commission will be of the greatest importance to the economic welfare of the American people and therefore, its members should be drawn in such a manner as to make it possible to co-ordinate the plans and policies of the various federal agencies and departments as well as the agencies of the states and municipalities.

To co-ordinate the various groups is not a problem for the individual state but is decidedly a problem for the Federal Government to meet, and the commission proposed should be capable of not only making decisions for the action of the Federal Government but decisions in keeping with the rights of various states and municipalities and in their interests and with their co-operation.

There are at least seven Federal Government departments, each separate from the others, with definite and specific duties

towards the Federal Government which should be represented on the proposed commission. These departments are:

Treasury Department.
War Department.
Postal Department.
Department of Agriculture.
Department of Commerce.
Department of Labor.
Interstate Commerce Commission.

Any major National System of Express Motorways will be closely related to the interests of these departments, and any plans for the creating of such Express Motorways should take into consideration the policies and plans and the expert advice of these Federal departments. No one of these departments can speak for the other six, having no authority to do so, yet each has a major right in the claim that any National System of Express Motorways should incorporate certain of its plans.

A National System of Express Motorways will require the expenditure of vast sums of money. Various financing plans will be offered. Any financing plans approved will naturally affect our national financial institutions and therefore, the Treasury Department must be represented on the proposed commission.

A nation-wide Express Motorways System would play a major part in the national defense plans of the War Department. To that extent the War Department should be expertly represented on the commission by the best talent which that department can produce.

Important postal matters will also be affected by the creation of a National System of Express Motorways, and the Postal Department should therefore be represented on the commission by postal authorities.

The Department of Agriculture, under whose authority the Bureau of Public Roads operates, should furnish a member to the proposed Federal commission, and it is suggested that that member be the Commissioner of Public Roads who,

through the bureau, could furnish much valuable information to the commission.

The Department of Commerce, because of its automotive and aviation divisions, will have a vital interest in the planning of the Express Motorways System, especially in the establishment of aviation landing fields which should be adjacent to and be a part of the Express Motorways System. This phase of the subject calls for serious consideration. It will require clear vision into the future in order to adequately meet the conditions which will develop with the use of aircraft, coordinated with other forms of transportation. The Department of Commerce should therefore furnish a member to the commission who has a thorough knowledge of automotive and aviation matters.

The Department of Labor will be vitally interested in the construction of a great system of motorways because of the vast man-power required. Once the construction of a National System of Express Motorways has commenced the work will probably continue through a long period of years. It is possible that the construction of such a system of Express Motorways could be so planned as to absorb all of the labor unemployed by our various industries. The number of unemployed, we recognize, is not constant. The seasons of the year and various years record vast differences in the number of unemployed people. The construction of the Motorways could be accelerated or retarded, directly in proportion to the unemployed requirements.

In this connection, the Department of Labor would have another problem to carefully consider and determine upon—that would be the proper wage scales for the various classifications of employees, who would be engaged in the construction of the Motorways. The Department of Labor should determine as nearly as possible what would constitute a fair minimum living wage for employees of various classifications and ability. The wage scale of employees engaged in the construction of the Motorways, should be slightly less than the minimum wage standards determined upon by the Department of Labor. Thus, private industry would always have the opportunity to avail itself of employees' services, providing

private industry would pay the wage standards as established by the Department of Labor. By determining upon the minimum wage standards for various classifications of labor by the Department of Labor, and by setting the wage scale for employees on the Motorways, at slightly less than the Department of Labor wage standard, labor would automatically flow to private industry when industry needed additional manpower. Such an establishment of minimum wage standards would promote efficiency in the flexibility of the Motorways program in relation to general industrial conditions. The establishment of a national minimum wage standard for private industry would assure the payment of a proper living wage to all workers. Such wage standards with the Motorways program behind them would, to a very vast extent, wipe out the prevailing controversies between capital and labor.

The ever-increasing volume of toll for the use of the Motorways, would make possible for many years a program of highway construction which could be paid for out of the toll earnings of the Express Motorways. Perhaps in time the demand for more highways would be eliminated. It is conceivable that the Express Motorways toll could be continued long after the Express Motorways had been paid for, and the funds derived from the toll earnings would be available for other great government projects and improvements which would have no direct earning possibilities. In other words, the toll of the Express Motorways might, for many years to come, be the fund back of a Federal and state industrial program, which could be speeded up or retarded in direct proportion to the requirements of employment for our citizens.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is studying now the problems for co-ordination of rail and motor transportation. The railroads in particular are making heavy demands upon the Interstate Commerce Commission, for the regulation of independent motor transportation. With these problems before the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the many more which will come, it is essential that the Interstate Commerce Commission be represented on the United States Motorways Commission proposed.

In addition to the members of these departments, there

should be at least four members of Congress serving on the proposed commission. Two should be selected from the United States Senate, one from each of the major parties, and two from the House of Representatives, one from each of the major parties.

The President should be represented on the commission, and such representative should be a person of broad qualifications. He should be enthusiastic for the establishment of a National System of Express Motorways and should be recognized as a traffic expert, with a background of extensive military knowledge and the practical side of aviation. He should be acquainted with industry and one who understands the legislative functions of Congress.

The commission as proposed would therefore have twelve members in all. This would be a practical number to make an efficient study of every phase of the matter. The commission, with the membership proposed above, would inspire a great confidence in the American people in the ability of the commission to make a comprehensive and practical study of the problems involved.

Sufficient funds to permit the commission to properly function, should be appropriated by the Congress. The members selected from the various governmental bureaus and agencies should receive no additional compensation, and the member appointed to represent the President should receive no compensation for his services. This suggestion is made for the purpose of eliminating those who are generally termed "lame-ducks," or those who desire an appointment chiefly because of the financial returns. There are many able and competent men who would be willing, for a limited time, to serve on this tremendously important commission for the honor and as a patriotic duty.

The commission should have the services of a very high-grade secretary who would be capable of releasing such information as the commission desired published to keep the American people thoroughly informed as to the progress being made.

The commission will be confronted with the problem of co-ordinating the National Motorways System with the other

great transportation systems of this nation. To link this governmental-owned Express Motorways System with the vast transportation systems owned by private capital will call for the keenest study. There must be no conflicts between this great public-owned Motorways System and the private-owned transportation systems serving the people of this nation.

The railroads should be extended every possible consideration and wherever possible the Express Motorways System should be blended with the railroad facilities. The various railroad organizations which have long served the communities of the nation should be protected. The Express Motorways should not be operated in competition with the railroads, through the medium of small bus and truck companies which have no responsibilities to the public. Neither should the railroads be allowed to monopolize the Express Motorways System at the expense of the general public, but the Motorways Commission should propose ways and means whereby the general public and the railroads would both benefit by the co-ordination of the public service through railroads and motorized transportation.

This railroad problem offered here for consideration is an illustration of the colossal problems facing the people of this nation and which cannot be met other than through a federal constituted commission of the broadest scope.

Public ownership is recognized as a necessity when it comes to our highways, our postal systems, school systems, and certain large projects like the Panama Canal and irrigation projects, but there is no great faction of people of this nation who are interested in government ownership of railroads or other great public utilities, and extreme care must be exercised in developing the plans for the National Express Motorways so as not to conflict with the property rights of private interests.

The fueling of millions of cars which would operate over such a system of Express Motorways, and the servicing of such cars also presents a problem of interest to the great oil industries as well as the automotive industry of this nation, and the Federal commission will undoubtedly find it necessary to establish the quality of fuels and oils vended in connection

with such a system, but the vending of these necessities will undoubtedly be left to private industry.

The construction of many thousands of miles of such supermotorways will perhaps be left to private industry now represented by the road-building organizations, but the road-building organizations will be required to plan such construction on a far more efficient and comprehensive scale than the piecemeal building methods of highways in the past. The commission will be required to establish the type of Express Motorways and will specify the kind of material to be used in the various localities where these Express Motorways are constructed. Those who build these Motorways will be required to follow the Federal government specifications.

A great many plans for financing will be offered to the Motorways Commission. The one which I have proposed is that the Federal Treasury be authorized by the Congress to issue as needed, United States Motorway Bonds, the interest on which shall be guaranteed, half by the states affected by the Motorways construction and the other half by the Federal government.

The interest on the bonds, after the various units of the Motorways are in operation, would be derived from the toll charged for the use of the Motorways by the motor operators. I am proposing that the first earnings above the actual interest on the bonds shall be returned to the Federal and state governments in exact amounts which they had each respectively advanced as interest on the bonds during the construction periods. This bond program which I have offered is based entirely upon the plan that all Express Motorways shall be amortized through the earnings of the Motorways' toll. This throws the burden of the financing of the construction of the Motorways upon those who actually use them. None would use the Motorways unless there was actually a saving by operating over the Motorways System. All of the present free highways would be available to those who did not choose to pay Express Motorways toll.

There could be no objection to the paying of toll by those who desired the service, any more than there would be an objection in paying for a railroad ticket, or paying fare for street car or

subway service. There may come a day when the Express Motorways would be entirely paid for and then could be operated free of all toll. This would be a matter for Congress to decide in the years to come and should not concern us at this time.

With the United States Motorways Commission in existence, it will be possible for the first time for the many worthy suggestions for a National System of Express Motorways to be presented to a Federal agency, with authority to co-ordinate the interests of all the Federal branches and the various agencies of the state and municipalities, and make a comprehensive and thorough report to Congress. Congress would have sufficient confidence in such a report to give the nation quick action, tending to relieve the present traffic chaos.

The creating of such a commission will undoubtedly save years of time and study and hundreds of millions of dollars to the taxpayers of the nation. There are many valuable suggestions and plans for Express Motorways systems, adequate for the needs of the American people, which could be considered by the Motorways Commission as soon as it was authorized to function. The Motorways plans will be nation-wide, and although the initial projects put into operation will be where traffic conditions most demand, these sections will be a part of an ultimate completed system and must be carefully planned as a part of a nation-wide hook-up scheme before construction starts.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Address before the Young Men's Lyceum, Springfield, Ill., January 27th, 1837.

" . . . But it may be asked, "Why suppose danger to our political institutions? Have we not preserved them for more than fifty years? And why may we not for fifty times as long?"

We hope there is no sufficient reason. We hope all danger may be overcome; but to conclude that no danger may ever arise would itself be extremely dangerous. There are now, and will hereafter be, many causes, dangerous in their tendency, which have not existed heretofore, and which are not too insignificant to merit attention. That our government should have been maintained in its original form, from its establish-

ment until now, is not much to be wondered at. It had many props to support it through that period, which now are decayed and crumbled away. Through that period it was felt by all to be an undecided experiment; now it is understood to be a successful one. Then, all that sought celebrity and fame and distinction expected to find them in the success of that experiment. Their all was staked upon it; their destiny was inseparably linked with it. Their ambition aspired to display before an admiring world a practical demonstration of the truth of a proposition which had hitherto been considered at best no better than problematical—namely, the capability of a people to govern themselves. If they succeeded they were to be immortalized; their names were to be transferred to Counties, and Cities, and Rivers, and Mountains; and to be revered and sung, toasted through all time. If they failed, they were to be called names, and fools, and fanatics for a fleeting hour; then to sink and be forgotten. They succeeded. The experiment is successful, and thousands have won their deathless names in making it so. But the game is caught; and I believe it is true that with the catching ends the pleasures of the chase. This field of glory is harvested, and the crop is already appropriated. But new reapers will arise and they too will seek a field."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Description of National System of Express Motorways

ALL plans for the designing and the construction of Express Motorways and the rules and regulations for their operation must be uniform throughout the nation. Motorists when operating on the Express Motorways must not be confused by a multiplicity of rules and regulations which may be established at the will of the various communities. Whether in California or New York or from Maine to Texas, once the American motorists enter on the Express Motorways, they will have but one set of rules and regulations to understand.

When designing the Express Motorways the thought must ever be in mind that rules and regulations are poor remedies for bad traffic conditions. The Express Motorways must be so designed that the very minimum of regulations shall be necessary. In other words, the flow of traffic must be as near as possible automatically safe. Low cost of construction must not be considered at the sacrifice of the plans for maximum efficiency and safety. Once the Motorways have been built they will remain with us forever. In-so-far as it is conceivable, inherent dangers, due to improper designing, must be eliminated in the original planning.

After many years of study and discussions on the subject I feel justified in offering the following suggestions in reference to planning Express Motorways:

Two cardinal principles must be rigidly followed and must be established as rules from which no appeal may be taken The first is—no grade crossings, either highway or railroad. This rule must not be broken, not even in a single instance. The second rule must be—motor traffic on the Express Motorways shall always flow as one-way traffic. Motor cars must never be allowed to operate in opposite directions on the same surface.

By rigidly adhering to these two rules in planning we will eliminate from the Motorways traffic at least ninety per cent

of the recognized dangers which confront the motorists who operate over the conventional streets and highways of today. By rigidly conforming to the above two rules in Express Motorways design, traffic rules and regulations for the Motorways may be extremely few and simple. Rules and regulations for operation of the motor traffic on the Express Motorways may be limited to about twenty per cent of the number of rules used for directing and regulating traffic on the conventional highways or streets.

It is utterly impossible for motorists to operate over the present highways and streets without breaking the rules and regulations, due to the fact that it is humanly impossible to know or to understand the vast number of regulations which have been established by the various states and municipalities. All of this confusion in-so-far as the Express Motorways are concerned may be wiped out by simple and uniform traffic rules and regulations established for the direction of traffic on the Express Motorways.

In certain districts of the United States, where traffic is light and where there is little chance of congestion, the Express Motorways would probably consist of two separate tracks—a track for the traffic in each direction. Ample space should be arranged for in planning of the original right-of-way to provide room for two additional tracks, should future traffic requirements develop the necessity for more tracks in any vicinity. In the congested districts and where traffic was heavy, the plans and designs for the Express Motorways would include four separate tracks.

For the cities and the congested sections Express Motorways should consist of at least four separate tracks, each track being approximately twenty-five feet wide, with a surface of concrete or other suitable material. The four tracks may be carried on the same plane and all on a single right-of-way, which will average about two hundred feet in width over most of its distance. Within smaller towns and cities, the right-of-way will probably be reduced in width to approximately one hundred and twenty feet, but the tracks will not be reduced in width. Each track will remain twenty-five feet wide over the entire distance.

Two of the tracks will carry the traffic in one direction and the other two tracks will carry the traffic in the opposite direction. The two inside tracks will be exclusively high-speed tracks and they will be separated by a space of about five feet. This space will be filled with packed gravel or other material, level with the concrete surfaces.

The two outside tracks will be separated from the high speed tracks most of the distance by twenty feet of packed gravel or other material. This space will be reserved for cars in need of repairs or which may be required to stop on the Motorway for any reason. The two outside tracks will be the slow-speed tracks, and the maximum speed on them will probably be thirty miles an hour. All slow traffic and motor trucks will be required to travel on the slow-speed tracks.

The high-speed tracks will have a minimum speed of thirty-five miles an hour. No trucks will be allowed on these tracks. Express busses may run on them, however, as there will be no approaching traffic from the opposite direction to contend with. The busses will not interfere with cars traveling at a higher speed desiring to pass the busses on the high-speed tracks. Reckless driving will be prohibited. All regulations must be strictly enforced.

Traffic entering or leaving the Motorways will come on or leave through the slow-speed tracks. It will be impossible to get on or off the Motorways other than at authorized entrances and exits. There will be numerous entrances and exits in the larger cities. There will be but few entrances and exits between the towns.

Motor cars may cross over from the slow-speed tracks to the high-speed tracks at certain designated cross-overs. The same structural conditions will prevail in controlling cars leaving the high-speed track and passing to the low-speed tracks. Where these cross-overs exist, there will be simple but effective signal arrangements, and at night flood lights will be so arranged as to cast downward illumination on motor cars that are passing to or from the speed tracks. The cars changing over from one track to the other will be visible both night and day at great distance.

From the above suggestions we may visualize only one-way

traffic on the Express Motorways, and high and low-speed traffic separated, and no trucks on the high-speed surfaces, and as there will be no grade crossings of any kind, the highest possible degree of efficiency and safety will result.

One of the most dangerous of hazards which the motorist has to contend with, is the still unsolved problem of restricted vision at night, due to the glare of approaching lights of opposite bound motor traffic. There have been many attempts scientifically and by law to correct this hazard, but it is still with us. The most we can say in the analyzing of results of corrective measures which have heretofore been determined upon, is that some lights glare less than others.

Many of the attempts to illuminate the highways by stationary lights have resulted in adding only to the confusion, and so, today, all of us who drive motor cars or ride in them at night, realize we are taking extreme hazardous risks as we drive into that black hole ahead which we believe is our side of the road. Any object in that zone, adjacent to lights which blind us, cannot be seen, and a crash may occur at any moment with a pedestrian, buggy, or other objects upon the highway, which are not carrying lights.

In order that motor cars may move safely and efficiently at night over the proposed Express Motorways, we have considered the prevailing light hazard, and offer a solution for the problem. The operator of a motor car must have strong lights which reach far ahead if he operates on the high-speed lanes of the Express Motorways System. One of the reasons why motor cars should not be required to operate over through highways on the same track as cars which are approaching in the opposite direction is this night glare hazard, and that hazard is one of the strong reasons which has decided us in the opinion that all Express Motorways must be one-way tracks.

We have made a study of the subject pertaining to the eliminating of light glare, by the proper designing and placing of light screens between the opposite bound traffic lanes. These light screens are so designed as to not affect the motorists' vision of the surrounding districts adjacent to the Motorways. The screens are constructed of heavy wire and to the layman would appear to be just an ordinary wire fence. The mesh of

the fence however, is woven to a design which screens out the light glare of approaching motor lights. Because of their close proximity to the light screen and due to the fact that the light beams are projected but slightly off the angle at which the light screen is placed, these light beams cannot pass through the screens.

The screen not only serves to eliminate light glare but permits the use of powerful headlights. It serves another purpose in that it prevents motor cars from turning into or getting over on to the track of the opposite-bound traffic.

In the cities where the opposite-bound traffic would be at the other side of the city block there would of course be no necessity for light screens as there the light glare problem would not exist.

Another extreme danger which the American motorists have to contend with on the present through highways is the unexpected approaches and exits to and from the endless variety of hot-dog stands and refreshment places, the entertainment lures and a multitude of other small commercial ventures. The car behind never knows when the car ahead is going to turn in to one of these places. Almost at any time a car may shoot out upon the main highway from an almost hidden hot-dog stand or other service stand. On the Express Motorways this will all be eliminated.

Fuel service stations will be located at certain intervals and where safety will dictate that location. The buildings and equipment will all be of standard design in keeping with the beautification plans established by the states and the Federal Government.

There will be no gasoline fueling or service stations on the Motorways other than those authorized by the Motorways regulations. The best possible service will be developed for these Motorways. The fueling and servicing of cars will probably be a concession. All service stations will be exactly alike, not only in appearance but in equipment. At least two grades of fuel will be sold at these stations and several grades of motor oil. Oils refined from crudes of both paraffin and asphaltum bases will be available. The fuels and oils will be

of a quality established in accordance with specifications of the United States Government Bureau of Standards.

It is expected that the Motorways service concessions will be operated by some of the present oil companies but they will be required by contract to guarantee a high order of service.

There will be no glaring lights illuminating and advertising these places at night. There will simply be a light of special design which will designate that a filling station is just ahead. At intervals there will be provided entrances and exits to restaurants and refreshment places, but these also will be required by law to meet regulations in reference to their architectural designs, cleanliness, and the ability to render reliable service to their patrons and their location as to safety.

Billboards will not be allowed upon the property of the Motorways, nor will any other signs other than those which are a part of the Motorways signals. All plans of the Motorways to come must be considered in the light of beautification as well as safety and efficiency for once the Motorways are established they will probably remain in existence as long as the nation lasts.

There will be no crossings at any place at grade on the Motorways. Where the Motorways pass through towns or cities they will be built for most of the distance over the tops of specially constructed buildings. Generally, in the vicinity of the railroads in towns, many old and dilapidated buildings are to be found. These buildings are of no credit to any locality and are usually an eye-sore to the community. What to do with these old buildings has been a problem for many years. To a great extent the development of the Motorways offers a solution to that problem. New buildings will be erected on the selected locations of the Motorways. These new structures will be built of steel and concrete and will be of sufficient strength to carry the Motorways along their tops. The height of these new buildings will depend upon the local conditions but they will run from one to several stories high. By carrying the Motorways along the tops of these buildings no streets or alleys will be blocked or used in the construction of the Motorways. In fact there will be very little visible of the Motorways except where they cross streets from one

building to another. These new buildings may be used for garages, storage, stores, offices, and even homes of the apartment type. Such buildings will eventually be sold to new owners but will always remain as a foundation for the Motorways.

This method of passing through towns will greatly reduce the cost of the right-of-way. With the co-operation of the citizens of the towns through which the Motorways will pass it is highly probable that a very extensive and beneficial rejuvenation process may be carried out in the older sections of these towns.

Most of the approaches and exits will be made on ramps which will lead up to the Motorways. There will not be a single factor of any kind which will prevent a motor car from being driven at continuous high speed along the entire length of the Motorways, provided the car is on the high-speed track. Dilapidated or dangerous motor cars will not be permitted on the Express Motorways.

In certain sections of the country where the Express Motorways will be constructed, between heavily populated districts, it will probably be advisable to determine on right-of-ways, which will not pass through many of the smaller towns but will pass adjacent to them. Such location of the Express systems will prevail more in the west than in the heavily congested eastern districts. Through the heavily congested communities along the east coast of the United States it will be found necessary to parallel the railroads with the Express Motorways and pass directly through the cities and towns served by those railroads.

Practically all of the eastern cities and towns which lie along the railway systems date back to their original establishment in the Colonial days. The sections of these towns and cities through which the railroads pass are to a great extent, filled with old, antiquated and dilapidated buildings of the Colonial period. There are also many old plants and buildings of the Civil War period. One of the questions of modern times is—"What can be done to rejuvenate these old sections? What major program can be initiated which will remove the old structures and replace them with modern and useful buildings,

and which will in architectural character and fineness, gear in with the zoning plans now recognized as so necessary for future planning?"

In the less congested territories of the nation, towards the west and south, most of the motor traffic, both commercial and pleasure, passing along the Express Motorways, would be through traffic. But in the congested eastern sections there are literally scores of thousands of cars daily moving distances of only eight or ten or twenty miles. For that reason the Express Motorways System could be located efficiently only at the center of the now well established traffic flow, and that center is where the railroads are located.

Future plans for the nation's transportation requirements, must include the co-ordinating of all modern means of transportation. The railroads and the motor transportation of the nation must be carefully considered and woven so closely together that railroads will no longer be considered as railroads, but will be designated as transportation organizations.

It is therefore extremely necessary that the selection of much of the right-of-way for the Express Motorways be adjacent to the railroads, so that the terminals of rail and motor transportation will be common to both. To develop Express Motorway locations without keeping the above vividly in mind would mean that in a few years time the shuttle traffic between the Motorway terminals and the rail terminals would be a tremendous burden and an expense and would greatly reduce the efficiency intended in the establishment of the Express Motorways. Between terminals, the Motorways should be located as near as is practical on an air line. Curves which would tend to reduce speed should be eliminated if possible.

Between station points along the rail routes it would not be necessary to locate the right-of-way of the Express Motorways adjacent to the rail tracks. It would probably be found more economical in certain instances to not contact all of the stations.

I will not endeavor to digest in this book the entire vision of the future Express Motorways because it simply could not be done between the covers of a single book unless that book took on a size comparable to the large office Webster's dictionaries.

In twenty-five years more we will look back and know then

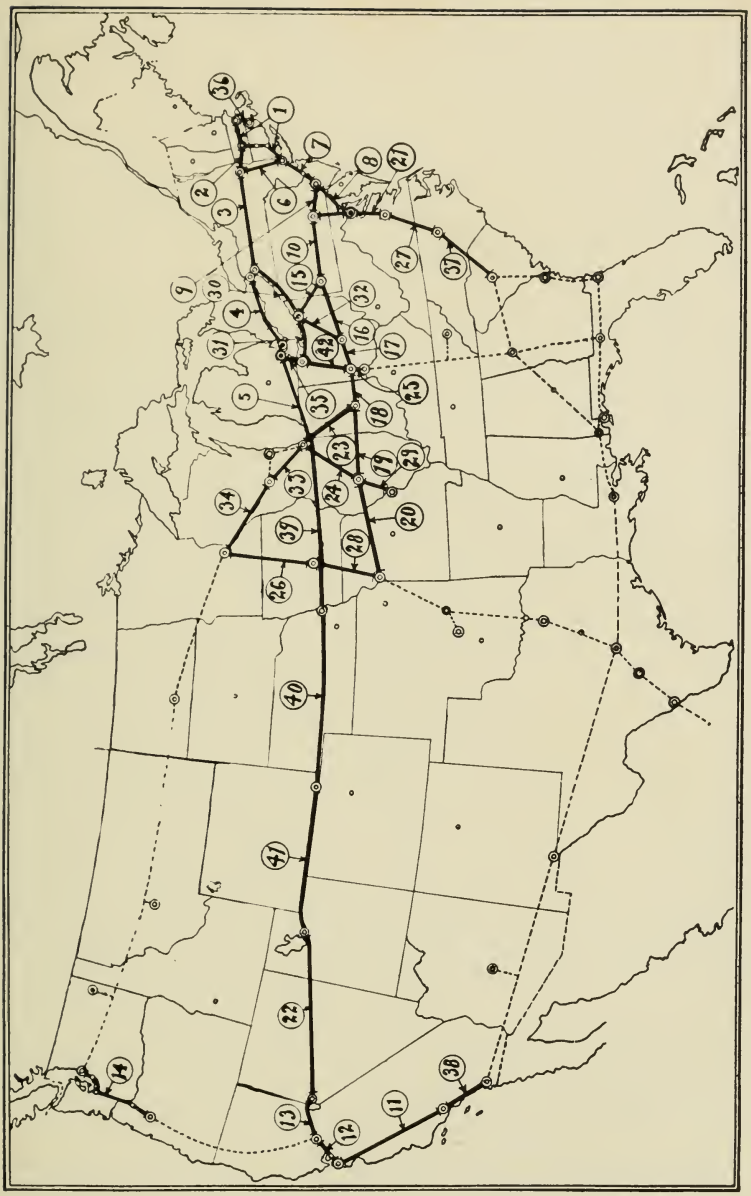
that it would have been impossible for us at this time to have seen but a little of the tremendous and marvelous advancement which we shall make in the next quarter of a century, in planning our national transportation service.

For the benefit of those who read this book I here print a map of the United States showing the suggestions and possible locations of the master plan of the Express Motorways, which will connect the far-flung districts of the nation.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Address before the Springfield Library Association, Springfield, Ill., February 22nd, 1860.

"In anciently inhabited countries, the dust of ages—a real, downright old-fogyism—seems to settle upon and smother the intellect and energies of man. It is in this view that I have mentioned the discovery of America as an event greatly favoring and facilitating useful discoveries and inventions."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



Proposed National Express Motorways System—One-way traffic lanes—
No grade crossing either Highways or Railroads.

(1) N. Y., New Haven & Boston
(2) Albany-Springfield
(3) Buffalo, Syracuse & Albany
(4) Niag. Fls., Hamilton & Windsor
(5) Chicago, So. Bend & Detroit
(6) New York-Albany
(7) N. Y., Trenton & Phila.
(8) Phila., Balti. & Washington
(9) Philadelphia-Harrisburg
(10) Harrisburg-Pittsburgh
(11) San Francisco-Los Angeles
(12) San Fran., Oakland & Sacra.
(13) Sacramento-Reno
(14) Seattle, Tac., Port., & Salem
(15) Cleveland-Pittsburgh
(16) Pittsburgh-Columbus
(17) Columbus-Dayton
(18) Dayton-Indianapolis
(19) Indianapolis-Springfield
(20) Springfield-Kansas City
(21) Washington-Richmond
(22) Reno-Salt Lake City
(23) Chicago-Indianapolis
(24) Chicago-Springfield
(25) Dayton-Cincinnati
(26) Minn., St. Paul & Des Moines
(27) Richmond-Raleigh
(28) Des Moines-Kansas City
(29) Springfield-St. Louis
(30) Cleveland-Buffalo
(31) Cleveland-Toledo
(32) Cleveland-Columbus
(33) Chicago-Madison
(34) Madison, St. Paul & Minn.
(35) Detroit-Toledo
(36) Boston-Providence
(37) Raleigh-Columbus
(38) Los Angeles-San Diego
(39) Chicago, Des Moines & Omaha
(40) Omaha-Cheyenne
(41) Salt Lake City-Cheyenne
(42) Toledo-Dayton

Suggestions for Meeting the Motor Traffic Problem in America's Greater Cities

LET us make one or two guesses of what will probably materialize in the coming Express Motorways program. For the purpose of this discussion we will take first, New York City and the districts in the proximity of this great American city.

I will ask you to keep in mind that our plan provides that the construction of the Motorways and their maintenance must not develop as an expense to the general taxpayer, but must be self-amortizing. It must be a business venture and must operate at a cash profit. Express Motorways must be considered as a transportation business and must be as carefully considered in that light as they would be if they were to be built and owned by private transportation organizations. The Express Motorways will cost plenty of money to create. They will cost billions of dollars. They will have to be paid for as they are built and can only be built efficiently and in keeping with good business planning, based upon the expectancy of reasonable profits from the venture and increased property values. That means the motorist who uses the Express Motorways must pay toll in direct proportion to the Express Motorways mileage service which he uses.

It is my opinion that a remarkably low schedule of toll rates could be established and still allow the Express Motorways to pay enormous profits. For instance, a motor car such as a taxi-cab or any private car which was being extensively used for business purposes could operate over the Express Motorways any distance within the metropolitan district of New York City at a toll charge no greater than ten cents per trip.

All such cars would probably be metered cars, making it unnecessary for the collection of toll on the Motorways. Arrangements would be made for the payment at certain times of the metered mileage.

Commuters' cars would carry an indicating mark on the

radiator or front, showing the zone within which they were licensed to operate at commuter rates.

A transit car passing through the city of New York but not operating daily through the city and not taking advantage of special rates would pay a toll not to exceed twenty-five cents. There is no doubt but that the toll rates would always make it a good investment to utilize the Express Motorways services whenever possible.

Means for collecting toll would be a relatively simple matter and would in no way affect the Express Motorways transportation efficiency.

Special toll or service charges would be applied to the motor truck and bus traffic.

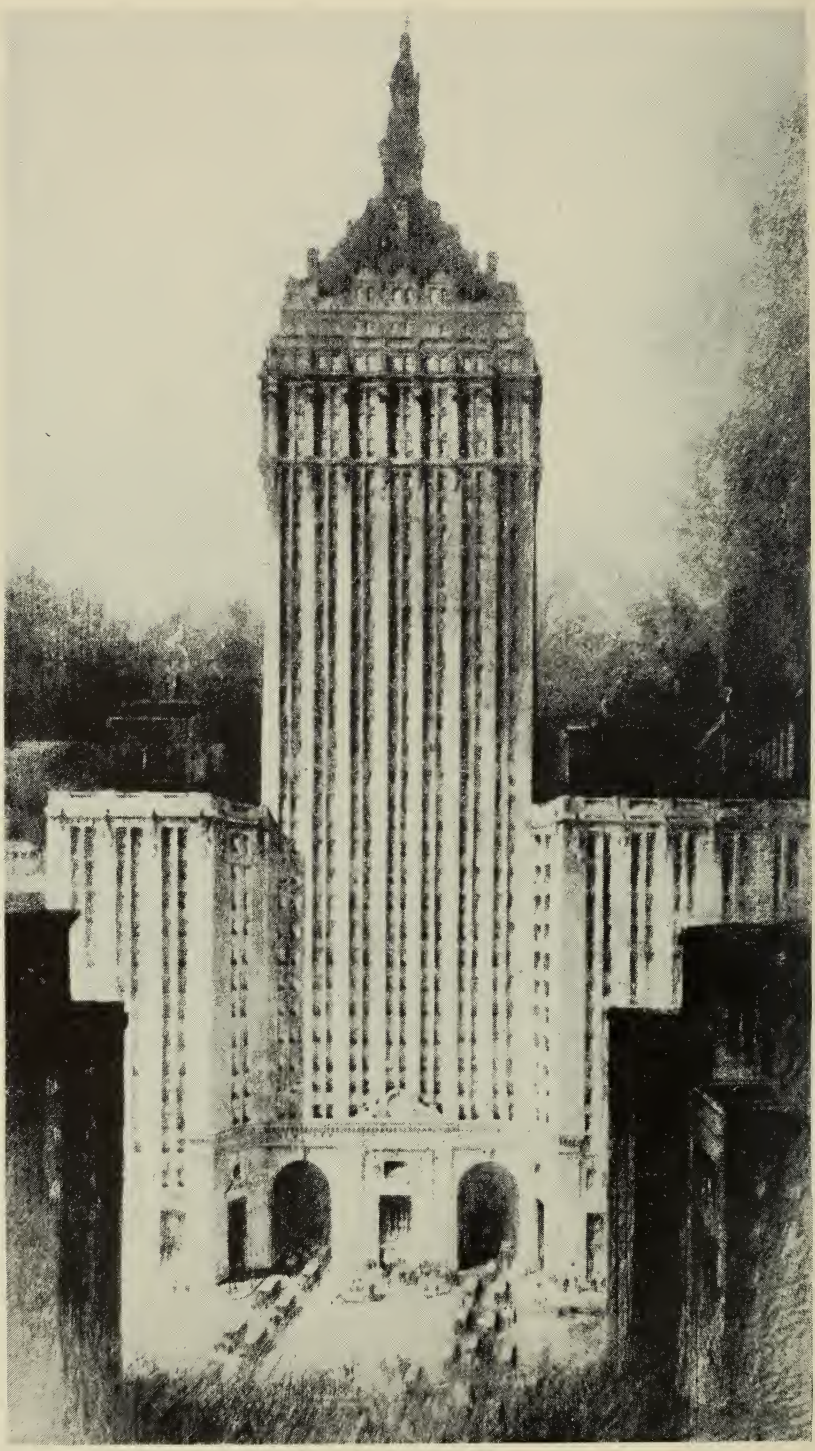
Every decision which has ever been made by mortal man pertaining to worldly things in reference to the future, even though it be but one second ahead, is a guess. The better the guess, the smarter the man.

Today, in New York City, they are guessing and guessing and wondering what they will do with the thousands of old antiquated, unhealthful and miserable tenement houses. It is said that people can get used to anything and I will admit there are people living in conditions in various parts of the world which are considerably worse than the conditions, which to me seem terrible, in the east side tenements of New York City.

There are a lot of miserable housing conditions in other parts of the metropolitan district of New York which at this day and age ought not to be allowed by law to exist, and they wouldn't be allowed to exist if most political levers were not pulled by the elements of Greed.

What is true of New York City in this respect is generally true of all other great American cities but New York in particular is actually doing a lot of talking and is seriously discussing the question of the destruction of these old tenements and replacing them with new, modern, healthful, desirable homes and business places. The one big factor which stands in the way of a decision of that great problem is—"Who will pay the bill? The cost is too great. It cannot be done."

At this very moment in lower Manhattan, New York, im-



Underwood & Underwood

Drawing of New York Central Building, New York City, facing up Park Avenue, showing motor car entrance and exit

provements are being made on the sites of several blocks of former tenement houses. It is a good job but it is limited to a financial plan, utterly inadequate to carry on a plan in scope of the problem—"What can be done to eliminate the old tenement buildings?"

Well, I have a guess that the financing of the solution of that great problem can be accomplished, and not a dime more would be expended in accomplishing this task than is now being paid through ignorance, to waste.

Soon after the new Empire State building tower was opened to the public I went up to the top of that magnificent structure. I went up with the idea of doing some guessing. I looked down upon Manhattan Island, almost one thousand feet below. I could see for miles over the cities of New Jersey and New York, and far up Long Island Sound and Connecticut. Beyond lay the horizon. I could almost believe I could shoot an arrow from the tower where I stood, to Hoboken and Jersey City across the Hudson River, and with a slight effort I might throw a ball across the East River into Brooklyn. Within my gaze lay much of Long Island—one end at my feet, the other hiding beyond the horizon which was forty miles away. Just like a picture lay the city proper all about me.

I imagined an Express Motorways System spreading out over the whole metropolitan district of New York and with branches laid out into the suburbs and rural country, adjacent to the city. I thought of the hundreds of thousands of people who come daily from distances beyond Manhattan Island (the heart of New York City) mostly in the early hours of the morning. Comparatively few come by motor car.

Somewhere, from anywhere within the limitations of the horizon which I could see so far away, each of these hundreds of thousands of people had left their homes and gone forth to search somewhere for a railroad station. The railroad did not go to them. They went to it. Many of them of course, were required to travel miles before they reached a railroad station. There, at that station, they jammed themselves into railroad cars with the hope that they would get a seat and if possible one next to the window. When their train arrived at the terminus within Manhattan Island it was jammed with

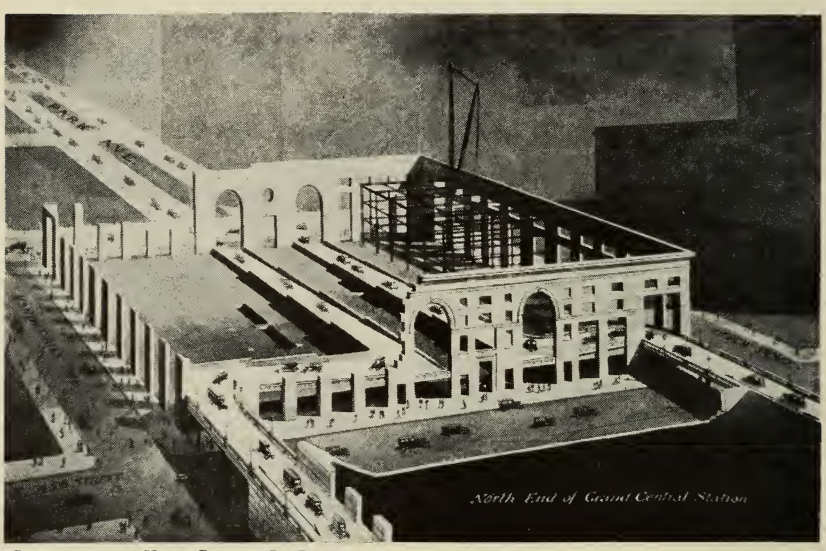
human beings. The train had arrived at its destination but its human freight had not. Between the narrow walls, similar to those of the cattle shoots of the stockyards, and up or down ramps leading out here and there, go the milling masses of plunging, rushing people, in search of other modes of transportation to carry them onward to their destination. By the scores of thousands they jam themselves down into that human sewer which is called the Subway. Time bids them hurry as they rush and push and fight and tear and beat back the automatic closing doors so that just another can squeeze in where already it seems the sides of the cars must bulge from the pressure on the inside.

Others from the trains have gone to the surface in search of street cars or taxi-cabs. Their clanking bells and blowing horns intensifies their efforts to buck the morning traffic rush. Where the remaining distance to their destination is not too great, countless thousands go by foot, through the traffic jam and dangerous streets.

Ye Gods! What is this terrible thing? Is this the best which man can do or is it merely a patched-up job—a makeshift, to be used until the new takes its place? When we bow down to the golden calf, it is easier for us to look at the milling masses of humanity as it flows in and out of New York City, like an ocean tide. But when we look at it from the standpoint of humanity it is terrible—terrible—awful—and an indictment of a rotten system which never moves to render service until graft and loot and the traditional legal profits and dividends are assured.

Go up in the Chrysler or Empire State buildings sometime. Look down upon New York City and the old town will not look as big as it does when you are standing on the street level, looking up at the towering man-made peaks. You will view a great sight which thousands of others besides myself have seen. Some of them may have had the same thoughts which passed through my mind at the time I looked down upon what is known of as the world's most modern city.

Straight as an arrow the streets of the east side of Manhattan Island run from the lower end down at the harbor, to the northern end. I was guessing that some day the laws of



Courtesy New York Central R. R.

The above is a photograph of a model showing the motor tracks passing through the lower part of the New York Central Building and on the lower roofs of the Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City. Motor cars moving south on Park Avenue enter the New York Central Building through the arch shown on the upper left hand corner. Within the New York Central Building they rise on a ramp, one story. Before leaving the building they make an S turn and come out of the building one story above 45th Street. They cross 45th Street on the viaduct to Grand Central Terminal lower roof. In the middle and on the extreme right may be seen motor cars going north, approaching the entrance to the New York Central Building, where they make a turn to the left and then to the right and go down the ramp out of the building to the street level at Park Avenue. The tracks on the lower roof of the New York Central Building are directly above drug stores, restaurants and numerous other establishments

New York State and the laws of New York City would be so set up, that a strip of buildings a whole block wide could be torn down from one end of the Island to the other, and the wrecked buildings for the most part would be antiquated, disease infected and poorly ventilated tenement houses. If new and modern structures, even big ones, happened to be within that area, it would still be economical to tear them down along with the old. The entire strip would be condemned and torn out to make way for new buildings for homes and business, buildings of modern design and providing healthful conditions and pleasant environment.

I will guess some more—these new buildings should rise from four to six stories high, depending upon the contour of any particular part of the strip which was to be built upon. These buildings would be of steel and concrete and would be resting upon foundations designed to carry heavy loads.

When these buildings are planned, the plans will provide for the carrying on their tops or roofs, four tracks of Express Motorways. Two of the tracks will carry traffic down-town, and the other two tracks will carry traffic up-town. The traffic going down-town will be carried on the tracks at the left hand side of the block. The high-speed tracks will be on the outside, next to the edge of the street, and the slow-speed tracks will be on the inside. Clear across the other side of the block and similarly arranged, will be the other two tracks, and all of the space on these roofs between the four tracks will be available for the storage of motor cars, when they are not in use.

At intervals of four or five blocks, or perhaps half a mile, winding ramps will connect the streets below with the Motorways above the buildings. Only where these Express Motorways tracks cross the intersecting streets will they be seen, and they will be so high above the street level that they will have no tendency to darken the streets or to interfere with the ventilation or cleanliness of the city below.

It is my guess that no streets should be used as a right-of-way for elevated traffic structures, either for rail or motor cars. New York especially, needs all of the open air above that she can get, and there is no need for transportation en-

croaching upon the air space above the city streets. The suggestion which I have made in relation to carrying Motorways along the tops of buildings, and when necessary directly through buildings, which would be required to be built higher than the main upper level of the average building, is not new, and I make no claim as being the originator of the thought for such placing of motor car tracks. I am simply expanding my guess in magnitude over those who have been limited in guessing, due to financial restrictions.

The city of London is now having official plans prepared for a mid-city air terminal. This terminal will be built on the top of thirty-six business blocks. The buildings will house all forms of transportation terminals, hotels, stores, garages, warehouses, etc. It is planned that the landing field of the air terminal will be laid out in the form of a wheel on the tops of these buildings, which will be approximately twelve stories high.

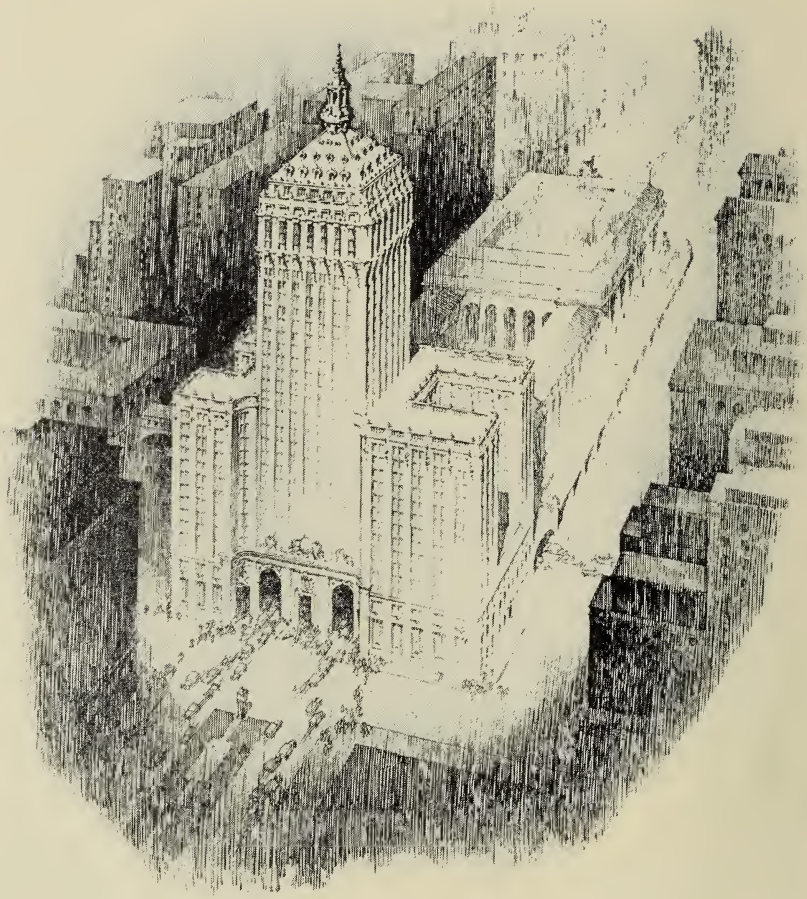
The possibilities for a similar air terminal for New York City should not be overlooked, and it should be considered and planned as a part of the Express Motorways projects.

Five years ago in Italy, an Express Motorways System was opened for the use of the general public. It is eighty-seven miles long, and its success has been so phenomenal that today, with the support of the Italian government, five hundred additional miles are being built to the original Express Motorways.

Several other nations in Europe are now planning extensive Express Motorways projects, all to be financed from their own toll earnings and all to eventually belong to the government.

My inbred American vanity causes me to sense acutely the sting which comes when we must admit that what we have been taught to believe are old-fashioned countries, beat us to it in accomplishing big and surprising tasks. America and her tens of millions of motor cars should have had the credit of building the first great National System of Express Motorways. Italy beat us in this, and if we do not watch our step the old dingy city of London is going to teach us that roofs of great buildings may be useful other than for shedding the rain.

Stand in Park Avenue, north of the Grand Central Terminal in New York City, and you will see tens of thousands of motor



Courtesy New York Central R. R.

Artist's drawing showing New York Central Building and Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City. Motor track on lower roof of Grand Central Terminal Building shown in this drawing. Motor cars entering arch at the right are approaching ramp leading up to motor track levels. Cars at left leaving New York Central Building after coming down ramp

cars going in and leaving the great New York Central building. As the motor cars enter the great and beautiful arch at the entrance, you will see that they rise on an incline, quickly and safely, and then they swing to the right and disappear, still going upward. If you could watch those cars or ride in one of them, you would find that it travelled only a few feet to the right and then swung to the left. You would hardly be conscious that your car was crossing a street, but it would be, and when it crossed that street, one full story above the street level, it would be travelling along the roof of the outer portions of the Grand Central Station. It would remain on the roof of the Grand Central Station until it reached 42nd Street on the other side of that great terminal.

The car would make another swing at that point and cross 42nd Street on a viaduct of beautiful architecture. No intersecting traffic would interfere with the progress of the car or the thousands of other cars which hourly take the same track, but you would soon come back to earth and find yourself bound on all sides by traffic chaos. The flight was sweet—upward and outward and downward, but the landing on the level of the street brought you back to the world of men and their poor little streets, their dinky bobbing street cars, the hawkers pushcarts, the telegraph messengers' bicycles, and those weird contraptions with their multiplicity of colors and funny gadgets which decorate them—I mean the taxi-cabs. Rivers of them!

The traffic which flows around the Grand Central Station on its roof, on the west side, is duplicated on the east side, except that the traffic is flowing in the other direction, and if you follow the stream of traffic back over the roofs of the Grand Central, you will swing again into the great building where you first entered, but you will be on the second floor. Then with a glide you curve to the right and you swing downward on the street level of Park Avenue.

In this short ride over the roof on this limited Express Motorways System, we are not guessing. It is the record already made, a little sample of the possibilities of motor cars passing through buildings and upward and on to the roofs of buildings, designed for that purpose. It is just the beginning

of New York's mammoth Express Motorways System, which will in a few years be serving the entire metropolitan district, and lead out to the suburbs in every direction.

To those who are in a position to make the test, I suggest that you sit down for a soda in the Drug Store at 42nd Street in the Grand Central terminal. You will not discover there the slightest indication of the fact that hundreds of motor cars are speeding just over your head.

In addition to the suggested east side Motorways, over the tops of the buildings and through them, another lane will be built in time along the west side of Manhattan Island. Other lines will be built crossing Manhattan Island and leading into Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx. Others will pass through tunnels or over the new George Washington Bridge to the Jersey side. Beyond the Metropolitan Motor Express System itself will be built Express Motorways, serving the suburban districts, and in time these express systems will be carrying hundreds of thousands of people daily, into and out of New York, comfortably seated in motor equipment, both of the private car type and of the express bus type. People will be picked up near their homes, as they should be by transportation organizations. They will be delivered to their destination by the flexible motor equipment over Express Motorways. That is my guess, and I lay my bet on it.

We hear of and have seen plans for extensive tunneling in various parts of Manhattan Island, for the proposed purpose of carrying motor cars through subways. The impracticability of the whole thing is, where will the cars be stored? What good can any tunnel express system be if there is no place for the cars to pause or remain stored until again needed? Motor cars must stop, and stations for such purpose must be provided at all points along the proposed Express Motorways.

If hundreds of thousands of people are going into New York by motor car in the future, what are we going to do with the motor cars which enter the city in the morning, until they are needed again in the late afternoon, to return their passengers to their homes? I am guessing. We must develop a place to park the cars during the working day, and that is where the

Underwood & Underwood

Grand Central Terminal, New York City, showing Vanderbilt Avenue and 42nd Street view. Motorway track on lower roof, one story above street level

roofs will provide another great service. On the roofs of the buildings a great amount of space will be available between the Express Motorways tracks of the two different traffic directions. These buildings will be a whole block wide.

How about the folks who live in New York who may be financially able to own a motor car but have no place to keep it? All of the new apartment homes beneath the Motorways, which would be built where antiquated tenement houses now stand, would provide garage space on the roof. There is no available garage space now in New York, except for the rich. Those who will live in the new homes may own and keep their cars at home, whether they be Fords or Rolls Royces. In the not distant future the folks of the city may step into the car on the roof, and for a ten cent toll charge speed out of the city to the suburban and rural districts. While on the Express Motorways they will not meet a traffic stop light, they will never meet an automobile, they will never cross a highway nor a street. If they want to move slowly, they may do so on the slow-speed track. If they desire to move swiftly they may move from their homes at the rate of fifty or sixty miles an hour, and if they wish to go to distant points beyond the metropolitan district safely and quickly, they may, by paying reasonable toll on the Express Motorways System.

To those who say that the people would not pay toll, let me remind them they are paying it now in cash, far more in cash to operate their motor cars through the congested districts than it would cost for them to pay the toll and travel over the Express Motorways System. That will have to be so in order that the Express Motorways System may be a success.

Now let us get on to another thought in relation to the metropolitan Express Motorways of the future. The ease and the flexibility with which people could move in and out of New York City, over Express Motorways, riding in well designed and mammoth busses for express service would practically wipe out the rail commuter traffic for the railroads, within thirty-five miles of New York City. It need not however, wipe out the profitable private business of transporting people within the thirty-five mile radius. If the executives of the railroads, which now serve metropolitan New York, will

look beyond their noses and determine to inaugurate a policy of sincerity and intelligence in co-operating with the people who move in and out of New York, they can undoubtedly make a trade with the general public which will be extremely popular both ways.

The railroads should enjoy the co-operation of the general public without jeopardizing the rights of the public. Wherever it is possible to do so the public should stay out of the transportation business when such transportation business conflicts with the recognized rightful heritage of private business.

I do not believe any great number of the American people desire public ownership of the railroads of the United States. For that reason they should not interfere with the legitimate rights of the railroads, when they endeavor to render efficient service for reasonable profit.

As a matter of well-established principles, based upon liberty, the American people must own every foot of every type of public highways, whether they are free or toll highways. The private motor car has made possible a freedom of social intercourse undreamed of even a few years ago and that freedom must not be restricted or encroached upon. A great bus service will come with the development of Express Motorways, because the busses will pick their passengers up from where they are and take them to where they want to go. This the rail service can never accomplish.

Instead of taking business away from the railroads which have so long rendered commuting service to and from New York City, we should encourage them to establish a gigantic bus service over the Express Motorways and communicating state highways, and they should have the monopoly of such service, but that monopoly should be under the rigid control of the states and the Federal Government. The railroads of course would be required to pay toll for the use of the Express Motorways. No fly-by-night or small bus companies should be allowed to interfere with the business of the railroads which render the bus service, providing the railroad will meet this problem with enthusiasm and confidence, and with the best of intentions towards the public.

Underwood & Underwood

Birdseye view of motor track on the lower roof of the Grand Central Terminal, New York City. Motor track viaduct from New York Central roof across 42nd Street is shown in this picture.

The bus service to and from New York City for commuters, has possibilities which never can be possible with the rail systems alone. During the hours of the business day in New York, hundreds of thousands of people must be shuttled back and forth in the exercising of their shopping or business requirements. There would be some busses which would be permanently located within the city limits and would render a twenty-four hour service, but during the rush of the day's traffic, which is always greatest during the business hours, the busses which had delivered their morning load of commuters, would be despatched to operate in shuttle traffic within the city proper.

When the great rush of humanity developed late in the afternoon, in its movement towards home, the busses which entered the city in the morning as commuters and had been working all day long in shuttle traffic, would pick up their commuter passengers and return to the suburban districts, radiating in all directions from New York's metropolitan district. In other words, this motorized equipment would be earning dividends from early morning until late at night—from twelve to sixteen hours a day.

Now, let us take another look. With the railroads free of the local rail traffic and the terminals in the New York station cleared for express trains, the railroads could reach out with their express service on the rails and handle commuters many miles beyond where it is possible to serve them today. The congestion of the rails nearer the city proper by local passenger trains would be eliminated. It is a perpetual problem as to what can be done to arrange for more space in the rail terminals of New York, so that more trains can get in to discharge their passengers or to pick up passengers, and the limit has been about reached.

In order that the hundreds of daily trains may get in all of the morning incoming commuter trains are quickly withdrawn from the city proper to storage yards far removed from New York City. This storage movement is made at an absolute loss, because these trains moving to storage carry no passengers. The rail service which they use in moving to storage, must be paid for. While they are going out they are

interfering with the freedom of other trains carrying pay loads. All day long they lie dead in storage, while the passengers they brought into the city in the morning, pursue their millions of tasks. Then late in the afternoon these empty cars are again, at great expense, hauled back into the city on rails already congested, greatly increasing the cost of moving these cars from storage.

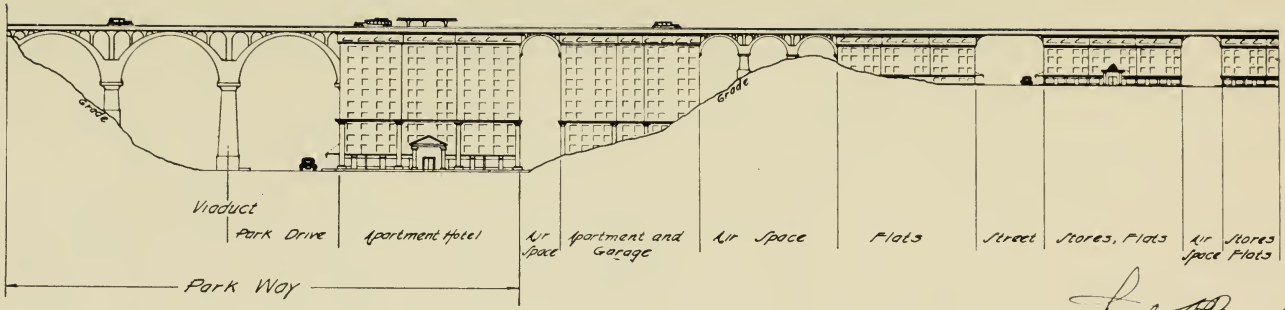
At the terminals in a frantic and wild rush, the rivers of human beings flow into these stuffy rail cars. The rush is even greater at night than in the morning. All want a seat and a seat at the window. Only during the morning and evening hours, are these expensive rail cars in operation, which carry the commuters to and from New York City. The expense of moving them twice empty, to and from storage, over rails much needed for trains carrying pay loads, is enormous, and all must be charged to the expense account of the commuter. He must pay a profit on overhead, which accumulates on these passengerless trains during their all-day idleness in the storage yards. Think that over, you people who ride these trains and pay your fares.

I have pictured the motor bus transportation service and its ability to work over the proposed Express Motorways of the metropolitan district of New York all day long, after it had brought you into the city, and the flexibility with which it may pick you up where you are in the late afternoon, and take you to your home. I have shown you the inflexibility of the local railroad car and its blocking of the rails and interfering with the express service of the railroads, and greatly limiting the distance that the railroad corporations may extend their rail express service. Mr. Railroad Executive, think that over! You are losing a lot of business which the American people have agreed you should have, but you must be on time.

Fragments of Lincoln from "An American Bible," by Alice Hubbard.

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



Lester A. Barlow
Dec 19th 1930

BLUE PRINT C

Ideal profile of the New York Motorways, showing how it would appear in built up and congested city sections. All grades and various obstructions would be eliminated. Cross traffic would pass underneath and there would be continuous rights of way in both directions.

Work for a Million Men

WE are in an economic depression. We wonder who is going to provide us with a job. I am not wondering about where the job is—I am wondering when we are going to start to do the tasks, which for economy and humanity's sakes, must be done. Think of the billions of dollars in increased values of property which would follow if an Express Motorways System, as I have suggested, was serving New York City and the adjacent territories. Think of the increased possibilities for dividing up into beautiful home lots, the suburban and rural sections within forty, fifty and sixty miles of New York City. What are we waiting for?

Now, to go on to another point. The suggestions which I have made in reference to the placing of an Express Motorways in New York City and adjacent congested districts, provides for the selection of a right-of-way without expense in the construction of the Motorways above buildings. The new buildings which would be built to support the Motorways, would have a far greater value than those which would be removed. "Well," you say, "What about the man who owns those buildings now, and there are a whole lot of people who own them?" There is where the political revolution has to do its work with sweeping condemnation laws, in the interest of the health and welfare of society, and the progress necessary for the general good.

Laws can be written—simple laws—which would give those people who own the property upon which the old antiquated buildings now stand the choice of retaining title to the land property and the new buildings which would be built upon it. An equitable plan can be worked out along that line. The Express Motorways, a public-owned utilities, would hold perpetual right-of-way over the roofs of private-owned buildings. The buildings themselves could not be altered by their owners without permission from the state or Federal Government.

If the present owners of the selected property did not desire to retain their property holdings and the new structures built upon them, under the new conditions, they would be forced to relinquish their property holdings for an adequate cash consideration. The property would then be available for sale to new owners. The new buildings would absorb rapidly their quota of tenants. The old antiquated buildings adjacent to the new, would soon be removed and replaced by new ones by their present owners. These new buildings, not actually a part of the Motorways Express System, could be designed so that their roofs would connect with the Express Motorways System, and these additional roof parking spaces would solve the problem of motor car storage for their tenants and others.

Let me say here that freight and express of all kinds which could be efficiently transported by the motor equipment would also be carried on the Express Motorways System.

Many industrial organizations in the United States have learned how to greatly reduce costs in shipment by utilization of what is known as the loading unit method. They have a system of standardization for loading of motor trucks and rail cars. Unit loads are established by uniform size shipping containers. A certain number of one size of container will fit into a railroad box car or flat car. Another number of these same uniform containers will fit on to the chassis of the motor trucks controlled by one of these industries. By having special loading platforms and handling equipment, loads may be transferred from truck to railway cars or from railway cars to trucks, speedily, and at a minimum of cost.

If the major railroads of America would set about to gain the confidence of the American people and with that gained confidence go before the Interstate Commerce Commission, they could undoubtedly establish a joint rail and motor service, which would be extremely popular with the American people, and leave with the railroads the business of transportation, whether it be rail, bus or truck.

If the railroads wanted to develop the highest efficiency in co-ordinated transportation, between rail and truck for instance, they should develop a separate freight terminal for their own trucks. Their trucks being uniform and the loading

unit system being applied by them, would then make it possible for the railroads to more than meet private truck freighting competition. No other motor equipment, other than that approved by the railroads, should be allowed to load or unload at the freight terminals equipped to handle freight by the loading unit method. In addition to this freight terminal the regular public terminal should be maintained.

I am barely touching upon this feature of rapid transportation of freight from train to truck and from truck to train, but the suggestion has tremendous possibilities. When the railroad organizations of America make up their minds to meet the motor truck competition through the improved methods of freight handling, they will not need to weep longer about what they now call "unfair motor truck competition." The Express Motorways however, are in my opinion, necessary to any suggested plans of motor truck freighting and unit loading methods which the railroads may determine upon.

Private industries which operate their own motor trucks over limited areas would have the same privilege of operating over the Express Motorways as the railroads would have, but I believe the railroads could show a saving to such industries in the railroad's handling of practically all freight by rail and truck. The secret of low cost of freight by rail and truck lies in the proper terminal arrangements which will give the railroads the flexibility of the motor truck and the low cost of the rail haul.

We have many cities in the United States which could support a publicly owned toll Express Motorways System. Besides New York, we may consider in the immediate future, the building of Express Motorways in the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Omaha, Atlanta, New Orleans and others.

By eliminating the cost of the right-of-way by erecting the Motorways over buildings which will serve as homes and for business, and which would stand upon private real estate property, we could keep constructions costs of the Express Motorways of four tracks in the congested districts, within four million dollars a mile. It would cost more to build Ex-

press Motorways in the metropolitan district of New York than in any other city or place within the boundaries of this nation.

I have in rough figures estimated that to provide an Express Motorways System, sufficient to meet the motor traffic problems of New York City, would require an expenditure of between six and eight hundred million dollars. In Chicago the cost would be much less. I have estimated that in Chicago the cost would be between two hundred million and two hundred and fifty million dollars. In Philadelphia, Cleveland and Pittsburgh, eighty million dollars each; Omaha, forty million dollars; the same in Atlanta. For Boston, Detroit and Los Angeles, one hundred and twenty million; the Minneapolis and St. Paul unit, approximately sixty million dollars.

Several competent engineers have collaborated with me, in the study as to the probable cost for sixty-five miles of Express Motorways from the New York metropolitan district to New Haven, Connecticut. Our figure for that proposed construction is two hundred million dollars. The New York and New Haven unit would cost per mile, far in excess of the cost of construction of Motorways in open country.

It can be readily seen that if such a National Motorways plan as we describe here, was inaugurated through the cooperation of the Federal Government, the states and our major cities, that we would be starting off on a construction program in the cities alone, which would cost over two billion dollars, and would require from three to five years of intensive labor application to build. What are we waiting for?

The construction of the inter-city connecting links of the Express Motorways System, would be the next phase of the construction program of the Express Motorways, and that would cost more billions of dollars and take years of time to accomplish.

With the Express Motorways System, actually, even partially completed, the automobile manufacturing industry in this country would again go into high gear to meet the demand for new cars, because of the new and adequate express systems which the motordome would fall heir to. What are we waiting for?

You will probably now realize, and maybe you have already reached the thought, that I have said little in reference to the employment of men. Here is a job proposed which would require for years, the services of a million men. I prefer not to aid in bringing forth a great construction program, based on the theory—we must find jobs for men. My America is big, too great, too fine, to be fed by the hand of charity. When jobs are created principally for the purpose of providing work for men, then those particular jobs take on the character of charity. I prefer to look to the task which should be done, because of its great economic need and increased values. We then go forth and search for men to do the job, instead of men going forth to find a job. The records of millions of unemployed people in America today are airtight indictments against the political and financial leaders of this nation. We must bring forth new leaders—creators—not traders.

We have such asinine theories as were recently given wide publicity through certain newspapers, advocating Congressional legislation appropriating five billion dollars from the Federal Treasury, to be expended in developing an employment program.

The one necessary requisite for the re-establishing of a sound national economic basis is a strong national confidence in our commercial stability. Our national resources are admittedly enormous. Corrupt commercial dealings and corrupt politics have destroyed to a great extent the American people's belief in each other and confidence in our society. No artificial means can revive a strong national confidence. When national economic stability returns it must be recognized as real and not as an artificial propped up false stability. If the Federal Congress should appropriate in the near future five billion dollars or a much lesser amount, to be expended in public works and it should be advocated that such expenditures were to be primarily made for the purpose of giving men employment, the little remaining confidence in commerce would receive a shattering blow. Such legislation would actually be a five billion dollar publicity program advertising the apparent fact that the nation was not stable and needed artificial props.

There have been a lot of suggestions for the expenditure of

huge funds from the public treasury to create work for the purpose of putting men to work. If such a procedure was followed it would have the exact same effect upon the morale of the people of this nation as would the giving away in cash of the same amount as dole. Taxes would go higher and the little fellow would pay the bills.

The people of the United States have been particularly unfortunate during the last several years in being more or less governed by two distinct lines of publicity. One has been the irresponsible and now proven puffed up optimistic ass who has time and time again been quoted in the press as stating "Business is just around the corner. In thirty days we will be on our feet. Business is on the recovery and in the next few weeks the depression will no longer exist." The other extremely destructive theory which has been advanced is that the depression would be over before any effective program could be put into operation to alleviate the depression. With these two extremely destructive views before us, we have been delinquent in doing practically nothing effective and constructive to recover our national stability and confidence.

Today, however, one conclusion which the great mass of American people have reached is that all of the light-headed optimistic business clairvoyants should be passed by as being a menace to the possible rapid recovery of national confidence. And the other conclusion which the citizens have generally reached is that the economic depression will stay with us until we establish a sound economic program of major proportions, and that we must expect that it will be quite some time before America is again in full prosperity swing.

There are two marked differences in what I am advocating in the way of building a National System of Express Motorways, and the so-called programs for creating employment. The first point of marked difference in my plan over the latter is that I do not advocate building Motorways for the purpose of creating employment. I advocate the building of Express Motorways to be operated as toll systems, and that such would be good sound business planning. Their construction costs would not come out of the public treasuries, therefore, they

would not increase taxes and would greatly buoyant the citizens' confidence in the soundness of the undertaking.

If the United States was at the present time enjoying the most prosperous of times, it would still be exceedingly necessary that the Express Motorways be created. However, if we were nationally prosperous at this time we would have great difficulty in obtaining men to build the Motorways. Therefore, it is doubly sound business to commence the building of the Motorways at this time when vast numbers of men are available.

The other point where the Motorways building program as suggested differs with the suggestions that we could not bring a gigantic employment program into being in the immediate future, is that before the actual construction of the Motorways could begin, the most colossal building wrecking program which the world has ever heard of would be necessary in the removal of buildings now on the properties where the Motorways would be built.

With special condemnation laws enacted this Fall by the various legislatures, it would be possible by early winter to put hundreds of thousands of men to work removing the countless thousands of old antiquated buildings from the selected property upon which the Motorways would be built. By the time that the buildings now on the property had been cleared away, completed plans in detail for a construction would be available to start the immediate building of the Motorways in the Spring of 1932. Every large city in the United States could employ every available man this winter in the wrecking program, which would be necessary prior to the actual construction of the Motorways, and the intervening time between the start of the wrecking period and its completion would be ample for the development of the completed construction plans.

Red-tape, of course, would have to be smashed right and left, incompetent office holders removed, politics adjourned; in fact, a fighting America would have to be on her feet, licking this depression like she would a foreign enemy. We can do this job and we can start this Fall, but we, as American people, must take the bit in our teeth; we must call it revolution, and we must hold the threat high to exterminate every political

faction that stands in our way. We cannot be positive that we can organize as citizens and move quick and fast enough to drive the present incompetent political forces into constructive action, but we should make a vigorous start and if the political resistance is sufficient to deprive us of bringing this great construction program into effect this winter, we will then have a thousandfold more reasons for sweeping the political field clean in '32.

Through political revolution we can set aside the power of Greed and corruption and red-tape. We will then find confronting us so many economically sound and necessary tasks to execute that the great problem will be to find enough men and women to do the work.

That is the goal to achieve. We need do but little guessing to know that it must be gained. But again I say, the job we now face—the colossal job—is political revolution through the ballot box, which must come before again we spread the sails of the old "Ship of State" and sail on. Our ship must go into dry-dock, the barnacles must be scraped off, the whole hull must be overhauled, polished and painted, so that we may slip through the seas of future times with the least possible resistance. We must go down into the forecastle, and the bilges and the cabins, and in behind the shadows on the decks, and dig out and throw overboard the pirates and the racketeers, financial and others, who infest the crew. We must test and correct the compass. We must make new charts by which we will invade the future.

Yes, sir! Political revolution—a high, wide and handsome clean-up, is the first job. It is a job for fifty million voters. It is the only vehicle which can carry the American people to employment and prosperity for all.

Excerpt from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March 4th, 1861.

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely as they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Bankers and Industrialists

I HAVE the greatest respect for those men who are truly bankers, according to the definition. They have necessary and exceptional duties to perform in our structure of society. They are entrusted to a great extent with responsibilities for the maintaining of a high order of public confidence in business affairs. Their efforts or duties should never be jeopardized by allowing frauds to assume for their own personal use the title or designation of banker.

The uncurbed activities of "High Finance" have done much to wreck the American people's confidence in those who are operating as legitimate and honest bankers. In fact practically all of the men who head the small banks of America, are now dominated and controlled directly or indirectly in their business dealings, by powerful financial despots.

I believe it is imperative that the American people insist on the restoring of the status of the former bank "down on the corner," whether it be in the one-horse town or the great cities of America. I believe the American people should insist upon the eliminaton of so-called chain banks. I believe that every bank in America should be independent of all other private banks. I believe new banking laws must establish that principle.

No bank in America, whether small or large, should be in a position where it can be dominated and controlled by a more powerful financial group. Every effort should be made to localize banks and to keep them closely affiliated with the business life of their respective communities. The banking laws of America should be set up in such manner as will automatically establish in the minds of the officers of every bank, the thoughts of rendering the utmost service to the citizens of their respective communities, rather than service to some financial master in a distant place.

Banks should deal as banks and not as department stores. Their principal business should be receiving and protecting

the funds entrusted to them by the citizens of their respective communities, in the loaning of sums of money to legitimate industry, whether it be in the establishment of a mortgage necessary for the building of a home or an industrial loan for mercantile purposes or for local manufacturing, after reasonable security had been provided.

Banks should not be in the business of stock and bond brokers. They should remain free to give unbiased advice to their customers in regard to business matters, including the purchase of securities of all kinds. Drug stores may be department stores without affecting their efficiency as drug stores, but it is highly essential that banks remain banks and nothing but banks, if the confidence of the communities of America, is to be kept on a high plane.

The men who will officer such local institutions can be rightfully called bankers. All others operating under the title of bankers are frauds, many not because they want to be, but because of the accepted rule of the day by the American people and the laws which they have permitted to come into existence and which demand that the old time banking give way to the modern department store financial institution—erroneously called a bank.

The so-called Federal Reserve Bank and the Federal Reserve System are two distinct institutions. The Federal Reserve System is a division of the treasury of the United States. The Federal Reserve Bank is a private institution and its very name is a fraud. The Federal Reserve Bank is an "out-and-out" gyp and the name Federal Reserve Bank was deliberately planned and put through by law in order to deceive American people, and to give "High Finance" control of the nation's money. The creating of the so-called Federal Reserve Bank defeated the very purpose which was intended in the creating of the Federal Reserve System.

Instead of the Federal funds being available to the American people, directly through the banking channels with which they are accustomed to dealing, the Federal Reserve System can only release funds through the so-called Federal Reserve Bank, and the Federal Reserve Bank in turn then negotiates its loans with the smaller banks throughout the nation. This permits a

group of men who call themselves bankers, and who are associated with the Federal Reserve Bank, to exact cash tribute for every dollar of Federal money which leaves the Federal Reserve System before it gets in the hands of the bank "down on the corner," which is your and my bank.

Furthermore, by manipulation of the Federal funds through this so-called Federal Reserve Bank, these fake bankers are in a position to establish enormous credits which they use in the manipulation of the so-called stock-market. Through these enormous credits they practically control the entire industries of the nation. The fake banks are able, through so-called bull markets and bear raids, to temporarily wreck the security value of any industry which they desire to control.

The results are that institutions called banks, like J. P. Morgan & Company, the National City Bank of New York, and the Chase National Bank and other similar financial institutions, obtain through underwriting the industrial securities, the practical control of all of the major industries of America.

These great national hock shops proceed to weave like a huge net, the directorships of all the great and small industries which they control. The results are that these industries are no longer independent and each must favor always the industries which are held in control by their respective financial masters.

The reader may think that here I am bearing down pretty hard on certain so-called banking organizations, but keep in mind that the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Reserve Bank came into existence through Federal laws created during the period of the late World War. The original intended purpose of the Federal Reserve System is to be commended, but that intended purpose was the tool used by "High Finance" to gain control of the nation's credit, through the Federal Reserve Bank.

Let us see what a famous international statistician thinks about this proposition. I will quote from Roger W. Babson. In 1920, in one of his letters to the Cotton Brokers, he made the following assertions:

(1) That the special interests used the war to strengthen themselves against the people.

(2) That the war gave us eighteen thousand new millionaires.

(3) That the Federal Reserve Bank has made the money trust a one hundred per cent trust.

(4) That the war not only added vastly to the possessions of those who had much but brought about a more perfect union of Greed.

(5) That the great trusts do control the press or own them.

Eleven years have passed since Babson wrote those words. I have said in the early part of this book that the American people have been marvelously patient. How much longer will they stand for the racketeers of "High Finance?"

When you read that Mr. John Doe has been elected president or chairman of the board of directors of the National Industrial Metals Corporation, you are often being informed that Mr. John Doe is the hired man which some so-called great banking institution has decided shall fill that official position. Mr. John Doe is not an industrial leader. He is an industrial robot, actuated by the wire-pulling of "High Finance." He is not allowed to exercise his own best judgment as to what policies would most completely guarantee that his particular organization would render the highest possible service to its customers.

In America today, there are literally hundreds of thousands of men, who sit as officers in the plants of American industries, who are damning other men, who, because of their financial strength and manipulation of the stock securities of industry, have assumed a control which only industrial experts should be allowed to exercise. Stock gamblers can never be effectively substituted for trained industrial executives in the direction and management of industry, whether it be public utilities such as lighting, water, transportation, telephone, or institutions manufacturing any one of the great varieties of commodities. These can best be managed by men thoroughly familiar with every detail of the mechanics of any particular industry.

The idea that because some man or set of men may control

sufficient in the way of finance to purchase the voting control of a great corporation's stock, entitles them to jeopardize that particular industry's business, by forcing acceptance to their decisions, is a vicious practice and highly detrimental to the industrial security of our country. It is a rare instance when the stock-market manipulator, operating under the title of banker, proves to be a genius in the directing of industry.

There are plenty of individuals who will endeavor to discount this statement of mine and in doing it they will set up their own rules. But the perfect answer from my side of the debate is—"Take a look at America today and if you still think that real business men have been at the control helm for the last fifteen years, you must admit they have made a mighty rotten mess of industry."

For almost two years this nation has stood practically still industrially, and there has not been one practical major program offered by the so-called bankers who control "High Finance" for the alleviation of the industrial depression, and they cannot offer any because of the particular twist in their minds which will not permit them to think constructively on anything, unless it is predicated upon a good fat cash profit to themselves.

The idea of rendering service to others or giving the most possible for the money never enters into their consideration. They insist that all who operate under their control shall think as they do, and this insistence destroys independent thinking and the good effects which might come through efficient planning by men who are able to think in terms of constructive industrialism.

At the moment that I am writing this book, the two masterpieces of so-called big business men and "High Finance"—the Dawes plan and the Young plan—have both blown up in the face of these so-called superior business men, and the financial credit of the whole world is jeopardized. Of course it is! These men are not business men, they are not industrial leaders, they are not bankers—they are glorified horse traders and card sharks.

As an engineer in industry, I have many times heard the demand—"Design the job as cheaply as possible"—the whole

purpose being to render the least possible service for the money and still stay in business. I have seen engineers by the thousands, subdued by this demand of Greed on the part of masters high up in finance. I have seen these engineers, clever fellows, highly trained, forced to prostitute their brains and their skill, in the creating of things of which they themselves were ashamed. But under the pressure of "High Finance"—perhaps the load they were carrying in the way of support for their families or paying for a home or a multitude of other pressing needs—they had to knuckle to the order: "Make the cheapest product which we can possibly get away with."

I could call attention to a great many instances of where manufacturing corporations of fine reputation, had been placed on the seas of "High Finance" and scuttled by these financial pirates, called big bankers. I will call your attention to at least one—Dodge Brothers Motor Corporation of Detroit, Michigan. Here was an organization which was built up by two clever machinists. They were not only clever machinists but during the years in which they conducted their machine shop business they acquired a lot of good business sense, and in the course of time they built up an enormous motor car industry—the second largest in the world. While still in their prime they were both wiped out of the industrial picture by the hand of death.

So-called big banks of New York decided instantly that the Dodge Brothers Corporation was their prey. A gang of stock manipulators, operating under the name of Dillon & Read, through various schemes, secured sufficient of the securities of the Dodge Corporation to control the policies of that corporation. They sent out one of the so-called New York bankers to act as president. What a nightmare the whole thing was to those who were on the ground! It was awful. It was industrial tragedy. I spent quite a little time in the Dodge plant as an experimental engineer, sent in there by another organization which had for years been building almost exclusively, certain parts of the Dodge cars.

One day I told the chairman of the board of directors of the firm with which I was associated, that I did not believe that the Dodge Corporation could go on without financial disaster

for more than six or eight months. I remember very well the surprised look which came over the chairman's face, when he said, "Why, Barlow, that is the big Dodge organization." "Yes," I said, "and in the hands of industrial pirates. What I have seen in the Dodge plant in the last few weeks convinces me that there is a deliberate plot on to destroy the security values of the Dodge organization, so that a raid may be made on the securities, which will permit the dumping of the thousands of stock-holders and the re-financing of the Dodge organization."

And I was right. The Dodge Brothers Motor Corporation was scuttled just as I had said it would be, and in the end the banker who was president said: "I must confess that although I am a banker I am not capable of being president of such a great industry as is encompassed in the Dodge Brothers organization."

The American people must find a way to eliminate the present legal gamble, which we call the stock market. It must be driven out of existence as a gambling institution. Gambling in industrial securities, in manufactured commodities, and in our food produce, must be prohibited. Nothing should be put in the way which would prevent the American people from buying stocks, in anticipation of receiving good returns in the way of earned dividends, but the gambling side of the stock market must go, and in this book later on I shall offer what I believe is one of the solutions for the elimination of this gigantic legalized swindle, which has to a great extent destroyed American industry, including agriculture.

Generally, in speaking of industrial leaders, we refer to those who are concerned in the directing of various manufacturing endeavors, but some of the greatest industrial leaders of our nation will be found associated with the problems of America's greatest industry—agriculture. American agriculture today is in a state of chaos. Tremendous efficient planning must pilot America's agricultural industry on to a sound economic foundation. There can be no adequate solution to the economic problems of the agricultural industry, until the whole banking structure of America has been extensively mod-

ified and brought into harmonious accord with agriculture and the American farmer, and his recognized necessary co-operative endeavors.

Outside of the homes of the actual farmers it may come as a surprise to many to learn that most of the farmers' notes and mortgages come due for payment at harvest time. Under the market manipulation in raw food commodities, there has prevailed for years an insidious and vicious plot—and its objective has been to force the prices of farm products down to their lowest levels during the harvest period. With "High Finance" controlling both the banking activities and the raw food market, the farmer finds himself obliged to sell his agricultural products when the market is at the lowest, in order to obtain funds to pay his mortgage and note obligations. With the farmer out of the picture then "High Finance" plays its annual game of gradually increasing the prices of raw food commodities until they can take the highest profits from the sale of such commodities.

In order to put the industry of agriculture on a sound basis we must first wipe out the food market gamblers and "High Finance" control of the bank "down on the corner."

I will admit that under the financial and industrial system which now prevails, it may be difficult to visualize any kind of a program other than that which leaves in control of finance, the direction of industry. And again I feel called upon to direct your attention to the thing which I have said several times before in this book—we must bring sweeping changes in our economic laws, changes so sweeping that only by political revolution through the ballot box can they be intelligently and efficiently executed.

The control of American industry must be taken from the hands of stock traders and so-called "High Finance." The control of industry must be placed in the hands of highly trained creative industrial leaders. Restore the true banker and his institution "down on the corner." Let us go inside his doors and sit down and ask his advice fearlessly, because of our confidence in him and his known interest in his particular community's welfare. There have been a number of prac-

tical plans suggested for the revision of the banking business. I wish to offer one which seems logical, and is closely related to the original intended purpose of the Federal Reserve System.

First, wipe out the private Federal Reserve Bank. Let us get rid of that fraud. Next, establish in every state in the union, a State Bank. That will be Socialism. The Federal Treasury is Socialism. The constitution of the United States prohibits the issuing of money, whether coins or bills, other than that issued by the Government of the United States. That is Socialism. Whether such Socialism is good or bad, I will leave it to you to decide.

I propose that all monies of the Federal government which pass through the Federal Reserve System to the banks shall go direct to the State Bank. The Federal Government will be secure at all times by the full taxable values of the particular states which draw funds from the Federal Reserve System. All collateral upon which loans are made will be held in the State Bank.

Now, let each state set up its own banking laws, its own rates of interest on mortgages and on loans to its industrial institutions. Let each state decide that the State Bank shall be the mother bank of all the private banks in the state, and stand as security back of all of the banks.

With such a plan you, Mr. Merchant, and you, Mr. Farmer, and you, Mr. Manufacturer, and all of the rest of the constructive, creative, producing group, may go down to the bank "at the corner" with your mortgage problems. You would know that to the extent of the value of your mortgage that the local bank could finance you, because the bank could take your mortgage to the State Bank and leave it there for collateral for Federal Reserve notes, which they would pass on to you. The local bank would receive a fair rate of interest on your mortgage and the State Bank would also receive a small fee to cover expenses, but there would be no bonus allowed under the law. It would be a straight interest proposition established by the state law and that would end it.

If the bank did not desire to take your mortgage within the

maximum interest rate established by law, another law would require them to sign a certificate of refusal and on the certificate of refusal would be incorporated the description of the mortgage proposed. When three different banks had refused to finance the proposed mortgage, the party who was endeavoring to get the mortgage could then take his proposals direct to the State Bank with the three refusal certificates, and if the proposed mortgage was good, the State Bank would be required by law to advance Federal Reserve notes on the mortgage. In other words, the State Bank by law would be in competition with the private banks, but only when the private banks failed to handle the mortgage.

Similar procedures could be followed in arranging loans for manufacturing institutions, agriculture and others. The banking program would become a very simple proposition. The bugaboo would be wiped out and so would the financial parasites who perpetrate their nefarious trade which today makes mortgages and loans a burden instead of an aid to building and industry—industrial depression is the natural result.

If we should amend the national and state banking laws along the above proposed lines, we would go a long way in making more difficult manipulations of the so-called stock market, but we would not have gone far enough to eradicate the stock gamblers by making only banking changes. We would still have to go further, and in the next chapter of this book I shall deal directly with the subject of great wealth in the hands of a few, so great that it permits individuals to be actual dictators over the lives and the destinies of millions of people. Such dictators are operating in America directly in defiance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America. The Declaration of Independence decrees they shall be destroyed, and based upon that assertion I shall advocate that they be destroyed through sweeping changes, which must come by establishing laws for such purpose, but which we cannot hope to write in the statutes other than through political revolution.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Speech at a Political Discussion in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Springfield, Ill., December 20th, 1839.

"It is often urged that to say the public money will be more secure in a national bank than in the hands of individuals, as proposed in the sub-treasury, is to say that bank directors and bank officers are more honest than sworn officers of the government. Not so. We insist on no such thing. We say that public officers, selected with reference to their capacity and honesty (which by the way, we deny is the practice in these days), stand an equal chance, precisely of being capable and honest with bank officers selected by the same rule. We further say that with however much care selection may be made, there will be some unfaithful and dishonest in both classes. The experience of the whole world, in all bygone times, proves this truth. The Saviour of the world chose twelve disciples, and even one of that small number, selected by a superhuman wisdom, turned out a traitor and a devil. And it may not be improper here to add that Judas carried the bag—was the sub-treasurer of the Saviour and his disciples."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Limited Capitalism

TO achieve the ends which I advocate in this chapter will require an amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America. Official initiative for proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution under the law is exclusively delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the legislatures of at least two-thirds of the several states. If the initiative is taken through the legislatures of the several states it must be through the joint action of state legislatures authorizing a convention assembled, for the purpose of deciding upon the proposed amendment or amendments.

At least the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states must approve of the proposed amendment before it is put before the legislatures of all of the states for ratification. To ratify and make the amendment officially a part of the Constitution requires a vote of approval by at least three-fourths of the legislatures of the several states of the Union.

The Congress of the United States may take the initiative in proposing a constitutional amendment, but such proposal can be put before the legislatures of the various states only after and when at least two-thirds of both Houses of Congress approve of such proposed amendment. When the initiative is taken by the Congress instead of by the state legislatures, it requires also the approval of at least three-fourths of the legislatures of the various states for ratification of the proposed amendment.

The above legal safeguards of our Constitution make it extremely difficult to amend the Constitution. I am ready to agree it is essential in the perpetuating of a government of free people that the Constitution may not easily be changed. To the original Constitution have been added nineteen amendments.

We occasionally hear people who designate themselves as one hundred per cent Americans, and so forth, loudly proclaiming the so-called un-Americanism of those, who from time to time,

advocate amendments to the Federal Constitution. It must be kept distinctly in mind that this nation under the Constitution laws, functions through a government presumedly expressing the will of the majority of the citizens. Only a fool or a hypocrite will challenge the patriotism of a citizen who suggests amendments to the Federal Constitution through the legal channels provided for that purpose.

Therefore, the matter of whether the Constitution may be amended or not, is not debatable, but what is debatable is in what material way would any proposed constitutional amendment affect the legal rights of the citizens if it becomes a law.

I propose an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would prohibit the existence of financial despots within the states and the territories of the United States. As a part of that amendment, I propose a section which would give the Congress power to enforce by appropriated legislation, the intentions of the amendment. Such proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution is, of course, a proposal to eliminate from the social and business structure of our society that element known of as "High Finance."

Do not for one moment think that I believe any such proposals can be made and enacted into constitutional law, other than through powerful political revolutionary movement. Furthermore, I know that the advocating of such proposals and the organizing of voters to support such proposals, will start a period of political contest, which can be expected to bring forth all of the vicious acts within the possibilities of financial and political scoundrels.

I am touching upon this feature merely to assure all interested one way or the other, that I am thoroughly aware of what we must expect. Another thing which I want to state here is, in this country there are conscientious and honest voters in sufficient number, capable of meeting and mastering that element who are supported by financial and political corruption. I have talked to many citizens in reference to the prevailing financial and political hi-jacking in this country, and I am convinced there is an overwhelming element who are good citizens and who are capable of starting and finishing a

political and financial clean-up of America, and there is a strong feeling that when that movement starts, the opposition can make it a fight or a frolic—frolic preferred—but rough stuff for those who can understand only rough tactics.

Keeping the Declaration of Independence vividly in mind, can you answer this question: "How much in intrinsic values, which affect the lives of the citizens of this nation, should any one person possess?" If you feel you can answer this question then consider the second one. "Do you believe that one or two or half-a-dozen people, with sufficient wealth in their possession, can evolve themselves into financial dictators and in one step more become financial despots ruling over the lives and welfare and the destinies of millions of our citizens?"

Those persons who cannot come to the conclusion of "yes" to this second question do not know the meaning of the Declaration of Independence.

But what the great mass of the business and industrial people in this country must decide is what limit shall we establish as the maximum intrinsic values which may be owned in the name of a single individual. That figure may be equivalent to a billion dollars, or a hundred million dollars, or a million dollars, or five hundred thousand dollars, or a hundred thousand dollars or fifty thousand dollars, or less. Some property limit must be established which an individual may possess in his own name.

For the purpose of debating the subject "Limited Capitalism," I will arbitrarily suggest that in reference to personal possessions we establish the maximum of intrinsic values which any individual may own at five hundred thousand dollars.

In order that fluctuations in values may not cause undue confusion to those who possess property values at or near that proposed maximum allowed under the law, we must provide a margin beyond the five hundred thousand dollar normal allowance. For the sake of discussion let us make this margin one hundred thousand dollars, which makes a maximum total possible of six hundred thousand dollars.

If property values should increase suddenly the individual

would be protected by this additional margin. But if he allowed his increasing wealth to go beyond this safety margin established by law, the one hundred thousand dollar margin and all of the values above the margin, would be confiscated by the government, and he would be fined an additional one hundred thousand dollars which would reduce his intrinsic holding to four hundred thousand dollars.

In addition to the five hundred thousand dollar maximum and the one hundred thousand dollar margin, let us agree that any person holding up to five hundred thousand dollars in intrinsic values in cash or property should also be allowed a credit for home and luxuries. In order that we deprive none of the comforts of home and any reasonable desire in luxuries, let us set this credit allowance at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Within this figure may be listed one or several homes of the individual, furnishings for the home, the land surrounding them, automobiles, yachts, etc. Now, take for instance two people pooling their maximum allowed property holdings, either cash or in real estate or other properties. Between them they would be controlling a maximum of twelve hundred thousand dollars in commercial values and a maximum of five hundred thousand dollars in homes and luxuries. They could have one home or several homes, worth several hundred thousands of dollars, automobiles, yachts, etc., but none of these possessions could be used in any way commercially. None could be mortgaged or used for securing loans. They could only be sold by permission of the proper government authorities.

The above restrictions on home properties and luxuries would only be applied to such possessions when the owners of same were listed as the possessors of commercial values at or in excess of five hundred thousand dollars. Below the maximum amount of five hundred thousand dollars all intrinsic values, including home and luxuries, would be considered as a part of the intrinsic and commercial values credited to the respective owners. All homes and luxuries would be taxable.

From the standpoint of a family, a man and wife might between them possess a home or homes and luxuries amounting in value to half a million dollars. In addition to these home

and luxury possessions they could legally have between them a maximum of one million dollars in intrinsic values, plus a margin allowance increase of two hundred thousand dollars more. From these commercial assets they should be able to derive sufficient income annually to provide them with all of the necessities and luxuries of life which they could ever desire.

There will be many arguments against the limiting of possessions of individuals. One of the principal objections will be raised in claiming that we would stifle the initiative of many of the most capable men and women, by limiting personal possessions.

My answer to that objection will be: "What initiative will we stifle?"

Answer: "Why, the initiative to get rich."

My next query would be: "To get rich for what?"

Answer: "Why to become wealthy so they may possess the many material desires of life."

I would then be permitted to say: "But in the limits which I advocate, it will be possible for any person or family to possess all the needs and luxuries which any one could reasonably desire, so why would we stifle initiative?"

The opposition's come-back would be: "Men desire great wealth so that they may become powerful."

To draw my opponent out, I would ask: "Powerful in what way?"

The opposition would probably reply: "Why, sufficient commercial power to control over the will of others in industrial affairs."

My answer to that would be: "We are allowing the individual the legal right to become commercially powerful, up to the extent of five hundred thousand dollars, plus a fluctuation margin of one hundred thousand dollars, and this would permit an industry rated at a million dollars to be owned and controlled by two persons. The limits which we have arbitrarily set would permit the continuance of the present normal function of all forms of industry of commercial units not valued at more than five hundred thousand dollars. It is only when individual men and women obtain possessions worth beyond

half a million dollars that they reach a position where they may exercise commercial powers detrimental to society in general."

The opposition would probably try this old one: "You would be penalizing some of the smartest brains in the country if they could not hope to gain, in their own name, more in values than five hundred thousand dollars. What incentive would they have to go on and serve society?"

My answer: "They would have no incentive to serve society if they were the brainy selfish type of person, and that is just the point which I have been expecting us to arrive at. So-called smart men are a detriment to any community or to any society if the only incentive behind their brains is personal ambition and selfishness. The only brain power applied to the mastering of major industrial problems and which may be of marked value to society in general is that brain power which is backed up by rigid honesty and enthusiasm to accomplish great tasks in the interest of and for the general good."

The opposition would try this tack: "You are challenging the integrity and the honesty of many persons high up in the commercial world, who are recognized as keenly interested in the general welfare of society."

"You are correct," I would answer, "within the limits in which you have weighed this discussion. I quite agree with you that under the present commercial system, where we place no limits on the amount of property which any single individual may possess, it is absolutely necessary for honest industrial leaders of this or any other country, to gain possession of all of the intrinsic values which it is possible for them to legitimately and fairly possess in order that they may meet the terriffic competition of other powerful industrial groups.

"The very fact that many individuals in commercial endeavors and who are high up in industrial control, do not hesitate to practise dishonesty in their efforts to gain superior financial power only makes it more necessary for the presumedly honest industrial leader to gain control of more and more commercial power, so that he may effectively meet the competition of his dishonest competitors. That is exactly what

is happening every day. One commercial force finds itself dominated by a more powerful one. It then endeavors to gain more intrinsic values so that it may become more powerful than its commercial opponent.

"This commercial trend has brought about the creating of gigantic industrial mergers in order to meet or out-do competitors. These great financial and industrial combines lose all contact with human interest and human rights and actually operate as colossal industrial juggernauts, breaking down and crushing out the rights of millions of individual citizens.

"Today we have individuals so powerful because of their personal possessions that they do not hesitate to attempt to control not only the acts of one government, but of all governments."

Under the policy of "Limited Capitalism" the best brains of the country, coupled up with rigid honesty and enthusiasm for the accomplishment of great tasks, would be limited only by their capabilities in their honest efforts to achieve power. Instead of the power of money dominating commercial endeavors, we would have substituted therefore the combined powers of honesty, courage and intelligence. To the extent that these three characteristics in any one person could gain the confidence of the citizens around that person to that extent only would he be limited in achieving power. The degree of power which he might exercise would be in direct proportion to his ability to convince the citizens that he should be delegated such power.

We are too prone to rate a man's intelligence by the size of his bankroll. A man may be exceedingly rich. He may be cunning and slick but far from being clever or smart. He may be intelligent and smart to a degree, but lacking sufficient intelligence to value the power which comes to men who generate an unbreakable public confidence by their ability to do intelligent planning, free of social treachery.

One need not go far in his search for people who are exceedingly rich and exceedingly dumb. On the other hand, most of the great services to mankind which have advanced civilization have sprung from the depths of poverty. It is a proverbial

belief that practically all art, music, inventions, and creative endeavors which civilization has used as stepping stones in the march upward have come from the brains of those who lived in comparative poverty. History records but few men and women who have proven their greatness in their ability to create for themselves a place in history and who at the same time were rated as rich by their fellowmen.

Within the last half century have occurred the deaths of thousands of men and women who have been rated as extremely wealthy, yet in just a few short years their names for the most part have been completely forgotten and unrecorded in history. Initiative—what initiative did they have? The initiative which they had was of no particular importance to the world of men and women, and therefore history cannot be encumbered by their useless and worthless names. History records the names of doers—the creators, the natural leaders, and those people are always at their best when encompassing these three traits—first, honesty; second, courage; and third, intelligence. The combination of these three traits generates enthusiasm to act and to do great things and breeds confidence in all who contact this class of citizen. This class of citizen will always be a leader, whether rich or poor, and his effect upon society will be greatly magnified when we wipe out of his path the resistance which he now meets in those non-productive persons of extreme wealth, who say, "Thou shalt not pass until you pay tribute to me."

Let me here quote Lincoln on the definition of liberty.

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same WORD we do not mean the same THING. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incomparable names—liberty and tyranny."

It may be argued that in the proposals for definitely limiting intrinsic values which may be possessed by individuals, we are developing a very complicated government structure. I personally believe we would be wiping out a great amount of government and commercial complications which now exist—certainly more than we would be creating. One group of the present governmental nightmares which the American people have to contend with are the rules and regulations, if they may be called such, which pertain to the Federal income tax. We know there are millions of taxpayers in the United States who will admit that the Federal income tax set up is almost beyond human understanding, and we certainly must all admit that it keeps all whose incomes are affected by this Federal measure in a state of uncertainty and bewilderment.

It is my opinion that a program of "Limited Capitalism" would wipe out the necessity for the Federal income tax rules and regulations now existing. Later in this book I will go a little further into this phase of the discussion. We can do nothing in the way of great major changes of programs in government without establishing some complications. A government itself is merely rules and regulations established by society. Today, in our case, it is simply a robot form of government. The necessary rules and regulations develop a great legal and complicated machine. This must always be so and we can only hope to reduce complication in government or prevent an increase of it.

However, I realize there will be a great many questions asked as to what would happen in case of this or that if "Limited Capitalism" such as I have proposed should be put into effect. It would be impossible in one or even in a few books to cover the various economic angles which would develop by such new economic order. I think, however, that certain phases should be brought to the attention of the reader and discussed here, and I will therefore enumerate several and we will discuss each in turn.

(1) Disposition of excess wealth.
(2) Inheritance, and its effect on the immediate family.
(3) Excessive increase—as in property values.

(4) Purchase of American securities by non-American citizens.

(5) Control of large industries.

(6) Employees relations to large industries.

(7) Effect upon interlocking boards of directors and officers of various industries.

(8) The stock market—its gambling characteristics.

(9) The raw food markets, such as wheat, corn and other grains, and other agricultural commodities—cotton, tobacco, livestock, etc.

(10) War.

(11) Social parasites—those who eat but do not work.

(12) Our attitude towards other nations.

We will now consider the above in their respective sequence.

(1) **Disposition of excess wealth.**

The question will undoubtedly be raised "What disposition will be made of excess wealth in case the proposed amendment is made to the Federal Constitution to limit commercial values held by individuals?" Well, let us see. Excess wealth cannot be considered as having been actually earned. It has been gained through various trading endeavors, not as salaries or wages. Therefore, it has been created through the efforts of men and women other than the individual who now claims it as his own. It seems only equitable that the excess wealth should revert to the treasuries of the various states and Federal Government, and that this excess wealth be used in the amount available, in the financing of the new social order.

There are some who will deplore such proposed limits of wealth which may be possessed by the individual citizen. They will loudly denounce what they term a policy of confiscation. They will hold high that bugaboo. They are many of the very ones who, today, are saying that the American wage scale is too high and must be lowered. First, confiscate the great masses of individual surplus wealth above the figure of five hundred thousand dollars per individual. After that, if it is necessary, we can then consider reducing the wages of those who, today, are fortunate indeed, if they are earning any wages whatsoever. It is the proponents of wage reductions in the

United States who are speeding the enactments of laws which will limit the commercial holdings of individuals.

(2) **Inheritance—and its effect on the immediate family.** "Limited Capitalism" will of course require a complete revisal of the inheritance laws. What the American people should be concerned with mostly is the great mass of people who will never attain personal fortunes approximating half a million dollars. I do not believe we should be very sympathetic to the idea that because of a twist of fate certain persons were born as heirs of great commercial wealth. Few people who inherit wealth appreciate such wealth. Inheritance of great wealth does not improve the citizenship qualities of the recipient.

Literally thousands of children of extremely wealthy parents never become useful or good citizens for the simple reason that from very early childhood they are educated to believe that they will never be required to earn their own living. Sometimes fortune backfires and we find adults, who in their childhood lived amidst luxuries and plenty, in later years are left penniless and without training or courage to buck the game of life. Organized society is to blame for such conditions. A true democracy will assume the responsibility of teaching its children to understand that their success and place in life must be of their own making and not by right of birth.

It seems to me that it would be just that inheritance, with one or two exceptions, should be limited, but not be greater than fifty thousand dollars to any one individual. The exceptions, as I see them, would be in case of family life where either of the parents might be removed by death. In that case the normal prevailing conditions of that family should be respected and the inheritance laws so established to result in the minimum of confusion. If the total intrinsic values held by the parents was below the maximum legal amount of five hundred thousand dollars, the remaining parent should be legally allowed to receive any amount of the deceased parent's property which would not bring the total values of the property of the living parent above the five hundred thousand dollar limit.

A will of the deceased parent could proportion the amounts

which might be received by the living parent and the children of the family, or by others. But in no case, except in the case of the living parent, should any recipient receive over fifty thousand dollars. In case of minor children, special laws should be enacted definitely establishing their welfare to the extent of the amount of their inheritance. This is a detail which we will not need to go into further here.

In case of the family where both parents are living and are listed as the owners of property to the full maximum amount permitted by law, and which included the advantages which had been taken under the full credit of the home and luxury provisions, it would probably be desirable on the part of society, in case of the death of one of the parents, to permit the remaining parent to retain for life the full home luxury credit which was allowable to both parents. The commercial property values, however, within the maximum legal limit, should not be inherited by the living parent. No exceptions to the maximum legal limit of intrinsic values should be made in case of any individual for any cause.

An adult, should he be the child of a deceased parent, might receive the maximum of fifty thousand dollars inheritance, but he could not receive at another time further inheritance in case of the death of the remaining parent. In case of simultaneous death of both parents, it would probably be desirable by society that the normal home life of the children of that particular family be retained as near as possible, and legal ways should be established for developing a guardian or head of the family. The home life in that instance should continue until the last child had reached legal voting age.

The above in regard to inheritance are merely suggestions. The amounts of inheritance, etc., which I have referred to, are arbitrary figures upon which we have established a basis for discussion. The whole inheritance matter will eventually be determined upon by the Congress of the United States and the respective legislatures of the various states.

(3) **Excessive increase—as in property values.**

Most property values change, either increasing or decreasing. Marked changes may be noted in either direction. I have

proposed a margin above the arbitrary figure of five hundred thousand dollars as the maximum allowable in the possession of an individual. The margin figure which I have suggested for discussion is set at one hundred thousand dollars. This should be sufficient to take care of ordinary value changes during the period of a year on property holdings amounting in value to five hundred thousand dollars.

It has been asked of me: "What would you do in case a lot or piece of land in a large city which was worth approximately half a million dollars, but because of certain reasons it suddenly jumped in value to one million dollars?"

At the former valuation a single party could own this property. At the new increased value, at last two people would be required under the law, as owners of the property. Regardless of why the property increased from five hundred thousand dollars to one million dollars in value, the owner would be required, on being aware of such increased value, to notify certain government authorities. In case he should not be aware of this and the authorities were, they could inform him of the new status of his property. He would then be given a reasonable amount of time to liquidate his increased values, but in any case the increase over the legal amount which he was entitled to hold, five hundred thousand dollars in intrinsic values, plus a hundred thousand dollar margin, would revert to the Federal and state governments.

You might think this was being a little severe but let us think it over. The increased values of the property would probably be the result of the combined efforts of many people, over which the owner of the property in question had no jurisdiction. Therefore, the increased values which had developed were created through the efforts of the general society in that particular part of the nation. We often see lots or pieces of land lying idle, generally held for speculative purposes, the holder of the property speculating upon others building up the values of his property through their developments adjacent to or within his community. We also often see an old building standing in the midst of new and splendidly designed modern buildings. The old building is to a great extent often depriv-

ing the new property of the highest possible value. Therefore, it would seem that if progress pushed an inactive property holder's values beyond the legal amount which he was allowed to hold, that the surplus should go into the government treasuries as tax and for the good of active society in general.

Another question asked of me was: "Suppose that a farmer, relatively poor, but owning, we will say, one hundred and sixty acres of land, suddenly realizes that his property covers vast pools of oil?"

Immediately this one hundred and sixty acres of land would rise in value perhaps to the extent of millions of dollars. The farmer might previously to this have been worth anywhere from five to twenty thousand dollars as owner of the land as a farm. He suddenly finds himself the possessor of land, because of its oil harboring values, worth millions of dollars. What did he do to bring about this tremendous increase in wealth? He may have drilled the oil well or he may have leased part of his property for testing for oil, or oil might have been found on all sides of his property, but there is nothing much he personally could have done in developing this great increased value of his property. The values of the property are all predicated upon the use of oil. A hundred years ago the oil values would have been practically nil, but society through its long chain of scientific studies and its multiplicity of industries which required oil, has created all of the increased wealth which the farmer today would believe was his for the finding. Instead of being worth five, ten or twenty thousand dollars, the government of the United States, under the law, would permit this particular farmer's wealth to increase to half a million dollars, and would extend to him a credit of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for home and luxuries. If he was married prior to the discovery of oil on his property or the date of the known new value, the law would permit him to deed half of his property to his wife, prior to the required property adjustments within the legal limits of possession. The total maximum wealth of that particular family would be one million dollars, plus five hundred thousand dollars for home and luxury credits.

All of the surplus would go to the treasuries of the Federal and state governments as a part of the state and national taxes necessary to the running of the government. The former farmer and his wife, however, would be on a par with the richest people in America. Therefore, he would have no kick coming, and my experience among farmers, which by the way is where I got my start, is that the farmers would have no desire to kick.

(4) Purchase of American securities by non-American citizens.

As I visualize it, the limits of intrinsic value holdings by American citizens would extend to any property which any of our citizens held in foreign lands. If a citizen of the United States held properties in England, France, Germany, or any other country amounting, we will say, to two hundred thousand dollars he could not hold in the United States or its territories, more than three hundred thousand dollars in intrinsic values. The American citizen owning foreign property would be required by law to list these foreign holdings. Failure to do so would make him liable to heavy penalties.

Unless some restriction was put on foreigners investing in American securities and properties, we would have the "Limited Capitalism" of America, more or less helpless in the control of citizens of other lands, who were the possessors of great wealth. It is conceivable that if we did not make restrictions in regard to this, that a party who was a citizen of France, England, Germany, or any other nation, might be capable of purchasing many millions of dollars worth of American securities, and thereby put himself in control of certain American industrial institutions. A similar circumstance could happen by the pooling of funds by citizens of other lands, for the purpose of taking control of American industry. Three or four of them might easily get control of some of our largest industries. Therefore, this phase would have to be carefully considered and proper industrial safeguards set up.

As I see it, we would probably require all foreign citizens who possessed American property to register that fact with certain public officials. Furthermore, they should be required

to reveal their holdings of all property not owned under the American flag. Should any citizen of another nation own property foreign to the United States, of value which would be equal to five hundred thousand dollars in our money, he would not be legally eligible to purchase any form of American property. This would include securities on American properties and industries. If he possessed in foreign property, values less than five hundred thousand dollars, he would be eligible to purchase in America, real property or securities up to an amount which would bring his total possessed values to five hundred thousand dollars. Should he wilfully mis-state the facts regarding any property holdings which he had in other nations, all property which he possessed or held certificates of ownership upon under the American flag, would be confiscated by the United States government.

We would be required to have very stringent laws in this respect as a means of guaranteeing the utmost protection against the possibilities of foreign investors, individually or collectively, taking control of American industries.

(5) Control of large industries.

A government policy of "Limited Capitalism" would undoubtedly increase the efficiency of management of the major industrial corporations, and it would certainly wipe out most of the vicious elements now in control of many of our greater corporations.

We often hear people speaking of large corporations as some great evil thing. It is not the corporation nor the size of the corporation which we fear, but the possible vicious and unscrupulous management of such corporations. A corporation, regardless of its size, can never be in itself intentionally honest and good, or unscrupulous and bad. A corporation is merely a mirror which reflects the character of the men who control it. Because of the general fear of corporation control, we find the people of this country continuously demanding that more and more stringent laws be established to govern those who control corporations. Today, the larger the corporation, the greater the danger which may lie in dishonest manipulations by the controlling elements of that corporation.

We find laws like the famous Sherman Anti-Trust Laws and

many others, all predicated upon the recognized necessity of governmental control over those who may attempt or who do attempt dishonest corporation management. Under "Limited Capitalism" there could be no danger to the public from any corporation, regardless of how great it became in corporation assets. In fact, the greater the corporation, the greater would be its guarantee of democratic management.

The maximum personal holdings in a corporation of any individual who might be chairman of the board of directors of the corporation, or its president, or any other of its officers, could be no more than five hundred thousand dollars, plus a possible marginal amount of one hundred thousand dollars. Any officer of a corporation who held corporation assets in that corporation to the extent of his maximum Federal allowance could not, under the law, own a dime's worth more of corporation assets in any other industrial corporation. Where we would have corporations of great magnitude, such as we have today, valued at from one hundred million to several billions of dollars in assets, the officers of such corporation could function only by delegated authority, conferred on them through the democratic expression of a vast number of stockholders.

For instance, a corporation listed with assets worth a billion dollars would be required by law to have stockholders in numbers of not less than two thousand, and each one of these two thousand stockholders would possess equal amounts of that corporation's securities, to wit—five hundred thousand dollars each. The result would be that two thousand stockholders, holding equal voting power, would elect the chairman of the board of directors, the president, and all other staff officers of the corporation, and there would be no chance of other than democratic control over that corporation.

Today, a single man can control enough of the securities of a corporation of a billion dollar magnitude to personally control the election of all officers of that corporation. If he is a fair and efficient business executive we are just lucky, for often such men are neither fair nor good business executives. They are financial dictators and almost without exception, ruthless and inconsiderate of the rights of others. It might be

reasoned that few men could be found who would be willing to serve as officers of great corporations, unless they could dominate the control of the organization, through their own personal stock assets in that corporation. Well, I will admit that there are some men who are just naturally human hogs, and we would probably have to get along without their hoggish inspired services.

On the other hand, there are vast numbers of men in business today, who enjoy industrial activities and the management of corporations, just as they enjoy a good game of golf, or bridge or a hide-away game of poker. Business and industry are full of romance. There would be a million-fold more in business romance if the officers and the directors of it were

Under "Limited Capitalism" all of the officers of great in-

strength is concerned.

Under "Limited Capitalism," all of the officers of great industrial corporations of America would hold their places of trust because they had won, through honorable ways and efficient service, the confidence of their fellowmen.

We look upon the head of some great corporation today, perhaps with the feeling that there is a great man holding great honors. But how much more so would he be the honored man and how much more so could he enjoy the glory and the prestige of heading a giant industrial corporation, when all of us realized that he held that position because he was the best all-round efficient executive who could be obtained for that particular position. Would anyone dare to insinuate that the incentive would not be greatly magnified in men to achieve the great positions of honor and trust, which the American people as stockholders, could hold out to them?

I predict that with "Limited Capitalism" we would find, almost without exception, the highly trained creative type of men and women officering the great industrial corporations of America. Financial control would be entirely eliminated from the picture, and the new industrial executive would stand before the world, glorified by his personification of honesty, courage, marked enthusiasm, and intelligence.

Before I finish this subject, let me call your attention to this fact—the head of a great corporation might have se-

curities in that corporation valued up to five hundred thousand dollars. His annual salary as president, might be a hundred thousand dollars a year. His salary and the dividends from his securities in that corporation, could not be saved or hoarded, because of the law which would prohibit him from owning more than five hundred thousand dollars in intrinsic values. Therefore, this executive would probably spend the entire amount for such enjoyment as it would bring to him and his family. If he was a married man, his wife could also own as much in that corporation in securities as he himself, and the dividends which she received could be added to the fund to be expended for the year's necessities and pleasures of the family. If they could not spend it all for such purposes they might chose between turning the surplus over to charities or to the government treasuries.

"Limited Capitalism" would result in the establishment of real leaders in the various major industries. The mechanical official industrial robot of today would be cast into the junk yard, as an antiquated and useless piece of mechanism. Think this over, you industrial fellows, you who would like to be the boss of the job by the popular will of great numbers of people and whose property you might manage, and remember this, all of your business competitors would be working from the same scratch line.

(6) Employees relations to large industries.

"Limited Capitalism" would force democratic control of industry. This would mean that it would be generally the ambition of the elected heads of various industries, especially those of large magnitude, to include as many as possible of the employees of that corporation among the listed stockholders of same. Today, we have a marked trend to interest employees in becoming stockholders. In some of our largest corporations, these ambitions would be greatly accelerated by the universal democratic control of industries by leaders instead of drivers. "Limited Capitalism" would wipe out practically all of the gambling, through industrial securities, and with that gamble removed industry would be operated for strictly business purposes and all of the net profits of the industry would go to the stockholders, because these profits would be industrial

profits from the production of the corporation—not profits from the manipulation of the securities of the corporation.

The officers of the corporation would be determined upon developing the highest efficiency in the management and the production of commodities by the corporation. The highest efficiency attainable could come only through the willing and enthusiastic co-operation of all of the employees of the corporation. The results would be that ownership of the securities of the corporation by its employees would be extensively encouraged. The ownership of securities by the employees would give them the right, to the extent of their security holdings, to vote on the management of the corporation.

Would this be Socialism or Communism or any other "ism" other than good business-ism and common sense-ism, hooked up with self-respect-ism and industrial decency-ism?

(7) Effect upon interlocking boards of directors and officers of various industries.

Today, it is the established and accepted ethics of industrial control for an individual or several to achieve by any methods available, the controlling votes of a corporation—such control being established by large block holdings of any particular corporation's securities. As a single individual may actually possess property values to the extent of hundred of millions of dollars, it is possible for him to own enough securities in numerous major corporations to vote himself in as a director in several dozens of such great corporations. He may be president of half-a-dozen corporations and may also be the chairman of the board of directors. He is a pretty big man in finance so he endeavors to imitate the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. He is the whole cheese. Yes, I said the whole cheese! He is just a hogskin puffed up with his own egotism.

There is no mortal man brainy enough and smart enough and honest enough to be a director and an officer of a multiplicity of industrial corporations. This is proven by the fact that when you find a man holding numerous official positions in a variety of corporations, he is delegating the duties which he should perform himself to a flock of human robots. They do the work and he signs his name. The robots could have done the work much better as men and signed their own

names, because they would have been independent in their thinking and would have no fear of the lashing at the hands of a financial dictator.

Under the system of unlimited capitalism it is essential that one man shall be an officer in many corporations, in order to meet commercial competition. In this book heretofore, I have described the central financial heart of a mammoth interlocking group of industries. This central financial heart interlocks and interweaves the boards of directors of all of the industrial units, which, through its financial power, it controls. By this interlocking of directorships and officers of the various industrial units, the financial control affects the marshalling of the industrial forces under its control in the attempts to meet the competition of other gigantic financial combines.

"Limited Capitalism" would destroy the central financial control of industry. The stockholders of large industries would not tolerate among the officers or the board of directors of their corporation any who could not give the most efficient services and the fulness of their time. There would be no more boards of directors of conventional fame—"Jack of all trades and master of none."

(8) **The stock-market—its gambling characteristics.**

It is admitted today, in the business world, that the so-called stock-market is exceedingly destructive of all industrial constructive efforts. It is now quite commonly asserted that some measure must be established for curbing the gambling element of the security markets. "Limited Capitalism" would automatically wipe out the gambling manipulations of the stockmarket. The stockmarket would be actually a stock-market. There could be no bear or bull manipulations. Securities would only be purchased for their dividend paying possibilities. It requires huge amounts of ready cash or cashable collateral to plan and execute a bear market or a bull raid. Because of the limiting of the amount of intrinsic values which an individual might own under the law, no individual would have sufficient funds available at any time to raid the market. No group of individuals could pool their interests for the purpose of perpetrating a raid upon the market and expect

it to be successful, for the simple reason that such raid plans would necessarily have to be planned with the utmost secrecy, and in such numbers, that there would be small chance of secrecy, especially if a double-dealing program was in the planning. Any one of the greedy schemers taken into the confidence of the numbers necessary to establish a fund great enough to affect the market might double-cross all of his confederates and instead of raiding the market, raid those who planned the market raid.

Here is another point—it would be utterly impossible to get enough stockholders in any one of the big corporations to successfully work together in a program of stock manipulation of that corporation for the simple reason that they could not be benefited in any way financially. If they were stockholders holding up to the amount of intrinsic values permitted by law, they certainly would have nothing to gain in lining up with the stock manipulators, and if they had less than the amount of intrinsic values allowed by law, it would certainly take too many of them to make possible a secret manipulation of the securities of their corporation.

"Limited Capitalism" would be a hard nut for the stock gamblers to crack. In fact it would crack the stock gamblers. Think this over, Mr. Industrialist! I mean you fellows who really desire to be industrial leaders, instead of industrial poker sharks. Industry is a great game and its possibilities for becoming far more entertaining and compensating in its dividends of happiness, lie in the smashing of that social parasite called "High Finance." Speaking scientifically we must first isolate him and then exterminate him.

(9) The raw food markets, such as wheat, corn and other grains, and other agricultural commodities—cotton, tobacco, live-stock, etc.

The gambler in the raw food and agricultural products (through what we call the raw food and industrial commodity markets, such as the wheat market, cotton market, live-stock market, etc.) would be wiped out by "Limited Capitalism," for there again we would make impossible the controlling of a pool of wealth of sufficient size to fluctuate the market by raids upon same. By eliminating this great national legal

gambling in raw food products and other agricultural products, we would be in a position to establish prices for agricultural products, which would make farming profitable instead of a liability. Every dollar of profit taken by the gamblers in agricultural products must be taken from the farmer or from the legitimate purchaser of the agricultural products. The profits today, taken by the gamblers, run into billions of dollars annually. The gamble in agricultural products must be eliminated before any effective program can be developed which will give the agricultural people of our nation a fair break in their industrial pursuits, which is the foundation of the whole industrial structure of this nation. All other commercial endeavors are dependent on the welfare of the agricultural industry.

Gambling with the agricultural products means that every citizen in every field of honest endeavor, must pay part of that gambling bill. Come on, you fellows, get out the swatter! Come on, you people in industry, with your swatters! You, each and every one, have a swatter and it is a dandy but all of your swatters must be swung at the same time and in the same direction, and the place to swing the swatter is at the ballot box. Your ballot is the swatter. In 1932 and again in 1934, the ballot swatter campaign should be so intense that the gambling parasitic racketeer class in America should be swatted out of existence. The effective way to time and use your ballot swatters is shown in the study of the Non-Partisan League tactics as applied politically by the Northwest states. I will explain this method of political swatting later in this book.

(10) **War.**

In past ages wars were fought for territorial supremacy, generally under despots, kings, emperors, and czars and what not. In the modern age most wars have been fought for commercial supremacy, regardless of the claimed objectives—for democracy, for God and country, etc.

During the period of the late World War there were thirty-three thousand new millionaires created in America. I am willing to stand on the following statement: "That if vast personal cash profits from war endeavors had not been possible,

the United States would never have gone to war." I will make another statement which I can also stand on: "That the entire efforts on the part of those who influenced the acts which put America into the war were made directly because of the hopes of obtaining huge war profits or political prestige."

"Limited Capitalism" would react against war. The citizens of America who had attained personal property values up to the maximum allowed under the law, could not be encouraged with the hopes of additional profits from the war, as they would already be standing at the intrinsic value legal limit possible for them to possess. A war, therefore, which could not in any way effect an increase in their personal intrinsic values, might on the other hand considerably reduce their personal property holdings. Therefore, the natural tendency of citizens who had already amassed the maximum values allowable, would be to oppose a declaration of war, so we would have in fact that human trait—selfish interest—always standing as a barricade for the prevention of war, rather than as an instrumentality encouraging and promoting war. Instead of the vast numbers of citizens being drummed up into mad frenzy and war hysteria through propaganda paid for by "High Finance," we would have the wealthy citizens of our nation as the most active citizens in the endeavor to prevent war.

The male children of today will be the cannon fodder of tomorrow, unless we take all cash profits out of war. Mothers of America, look into those innocent eyes of that male baby of yours and remember this, you have a vote which means just as much in the ballot box as the vote of the richest war profiteer, and remember this also, for every one of the war grafters and criminals there are literally thousands of you mothers who possess the right of franchise. You can protect your babies' future, and make wars almost impossible, by voting together to destroy the makers of war—"High Finance."

(11) **Social parasites—those who eat but do not work.**

"Limited Capitalism" would have a very decided effect for the good in the eliminating from our social structure that element of wealthy social parasites who class themselves as American aristocracy. Many of this non-producing class of

human parasites are the offspring of men and women who, in their day, were very wealthy citizens. Their granddaddies and their grandmothers built up huge fortunes as pack-peddlers, railroad builders, soap manufacturers, ship owners, rabbit skinners, gold miners, and garbage gatherers, and in many other lines of endeavor. If they could look back and see the useless, brainless, selfish snobs who have the audacity to call themselves aristocrats, these old granddaddies and grandmothers would welcome being closed in the darkest of tombs.

The title of aristocracy can only be properly bestowed upon those people of the earth who intelligently and enthusiastically labor in the endeavor of making better the conditions existing on the earth for their fellowman. Healthy vigorous people who do not work and especially those who have never worked, and those who believe they are privileged characters ordained by God to live without work, should rightfully be classed as the most useless of animal life which subsides upon the elements from the earth. Many of these social parasites are utterly incapable of realizing what a contemptible and useless lot they are, as many of them are the product of several generations of intensive applied beliefs that it is a disgrace to be a toiler. We might pity them except for our own good it is necessary that we despise them.

"Limited Capitalism" would go far in exterminating that class of useless social snobs. It takes vast portions of the world's wealth to supply the luxuries which that class of social parasites demand be supplied to them at the expense of the world's workers. Every last dollar necessary for the support of them must come from the hands of the working people. Today, throughout the world, America included, millions upon millions of people are living in the depths of poverty—many of them highly trained and capable and efficient workers in industry when they have the opportunity to work, but they are brutally mocked by the vulgar display of extravagance on the part of the so-called social aristocracy and the senseless chatter of those pampered human parasites.

I am ready to cast my vote with the rest of the workers of America in support of a mandate which will make it impera-

tive that all capable of working be allowed the privilege to work, and they must work or starve.

(12) **Our attitude towards other nations.**

Few are so blind that they cannot see that very major changes in social orders are rapidly developing throughout the governments of the world. Unlimited capitalism is on trial and in many places has already been convicted and exterminated. If we in America wish to preserve for ourselves the fundamentals of our constitutional form of government for the right of private property and the execution of individual initiative, we must work rapidly along well laid plans to set up new guards for these fundamental principles of government, which we pride ourselves as being the possessors of.

The European nations of today are in such chaos that it is almost useless to hope that they will be able to set up new governmental standards which we would be willing to accept. The commercial relations of the world have now become so interlocked that we are no longer free to disregard what is happening in other parts of the world politically. What does happen in the other parts of the world politically will have a distinct effect upon our welfare here in America.

Industry efficiently and honestly administered is the medium on which society may ride to happiness. Socialism and Communism make the above claim. Both of these forms of society are rapidly gaining in number. Unlimited capitalism, as now practiced in America and many other nations, has miserably failed in providing security for the workers in the world's industries. Socialism and Communism may fail to provide industrial happiness. "Limited Capitalism" would provide protection for the ideals of American citizens in their form of government. Unlimited capitalism as now practiced will fail, and it seems to me three choices are open to the American people—"Limited Capitalism," Socialism, or Communism. I believe if we accept "Limited Capitalism" we shall step upward. If we accept Socialism or Communism we will step downward.

In spite of unlimited capitalism we have advanced, but we can go no further with it, nor can we stand still with it. We

must break with it now and go backward or forward, according to our choice.

We are especially fortunate in our geographical position in still being isolated from Europe. To bring forth if we will, a new order of capitalistic scheme of government, we need not change our form of government, but we need vast modifications in our commercial and industrial laws. The accepted order of government in America cannot continue long unless we plan, swiftly and surely, sweeping changes in our capitalistic form of society. The pendulum of history will repeat and swing to the opposite extreme. We have two alternatives—one or the other must be our choice—retaining a capitalistic form of society so modified as to be enthusiastically acceptable to us of America, and tempting to the other nations of the world, or we must accept the inevitable and go down to the levels of government procedures which are rapidly evolving in many foreign countries. In my opinion it is "Limited Capitalism" in America, or Communism. I do not believe we need accept "Limited Capitalism" as a compromise, but we may accept it rather as an advance and greatly preferred social order, over the present unlimited capital chaos, with its "High Finance" industrial dictators.

Should "Limited Capitalism" become one of the fundamental laws of the United States we would be confronted with the problem of what to do with the excess wealth above the maximum limit established by law, at the time that the law went into effect.

There would be only two possible ways in which to reduce the personal assets of any individual after such law went into effect. One would be the taking over by the government of excess wealth. In case of property it should be sold to those who might buy it, and the funds placed in the government treasury. The nation has built up a tremendous debt due to her past wars. The excess property taken over by the government would go far in reducing those debts. We should make it a point to reduce taxes to the minimum at the beginning of the new order of "Limited Capitalism," and if such a constitutional amendment should be voted by the people of this nation,

it would be the duty of those who have enjoyed unlimited wealth to contribute their excess holdings with the intention that it would be used to reduce the present heavy national debt burden created because of wars of the past.

The other procedure which might be available in reducing the excess property holdings of individuals, would be for them to make direct gifts of their excess wealth to individuals of their own choosing. I do not believe that this procedure should be allowed by law. I think, should the new social order of "Limited Capitalism" come, that it should be up to us all to in every possible way go the limit, especially at the start, in making the new order a success.

We would have less government in business because we would fear business and commerce less. We could have corporations greater in magnitude than exist today and not fear them. We could have all of America at work and hold forth a practical program for the rest of the world to copy. We could encourage other nations to rise to our standards of living. We could be a friend of all the world with no attitude of a driver. We could wipe out the financial and political humbug which today confounds, confuses and baffles the whole world. "Limited Capitalism" is our way out and upward. Look any way that you will and you can see the handwriting on the wall. We have the choice of going upward. We need only to turn our faces in that direction and then go. The fundamental principles of the government of the United States make it possible for us to make such choice as the majority's choice.

Talk these problems over with your neighbor. Discussion will help you in choosing the direction which you in the future will move with confidence. The days of the tin gods are over —it is now up to you.

From Lincoln's letter to Joshua F. Speed, October 22nd, 1846.

"In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"; and since then, if we accept the light and the air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having

first cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Russia

I FEEL obligated to my own spirit of independence and self-respect to write here in a limited way of some of my opinions in reference to the Russian Republic. At this moment I feel that in referring to the Russian Soviet Republic, I am doing it as a defy to the ultimatum of "High Finance" which has been expressed to American born citizens thus:

> "You shall speak of the Russian Soviet Republic only in words of condemnation or not at all. If you violate this ultimatum and speak in any way favorable to the Russian Republic, we will paint you "Red" and declare you a Communist, and post your name as an American born citizen, disloyal to your own country and loyal to the Soviet Republic."

This is the ultimatum of "High Finance" in fact, and many of the editors of America's press and periodicals are working under the strict rules of the above ultimatum. Millions of Americans not only do not speak their thoughts in regard to Russia, but do not even dare to think or analyze the matter to their own satisfaction. I have made it clear that I would not approve of communistic principles for America, because I prefer and am thoroughly convinced of the soundness of the capitalistic principles. I do think however the official attitude of the American government towards the Russian Soviet Republic is the attitude of a braying jackass. Almost every official administration word which comes from Washington, in reference to Russia, reeks of hypocrisy and dishonesty. It is again the undeniable evidence of governmental robots speaking the words put into their mouths by high financial racketeers.

Various excuses are made by our administration officials for the fact that the United States fails to officially recognize the Soviet Republic of Russia. These excuses often take the

form of assertions that Russia is unworthy of recognition by the United States, due to unfair practices and policies so-called of the Russian Soviet Republic. Such assertions on the part of the officials of the United States must make the gods laugh. America must not be contaminated by extending the hand of good fellowship to Russia, so we damn Russia for her so-called forced labor policies, as she endeavors to meet heroically the task of lifting herself from the depths of poverty and misery, the records of the treacheries of the past vicious Czaristic regime.

We damn Russia for working, while we, the mighty America, stand idle with twenty-five millions of hungry and hopeless people, wondering why the tin gods fail to solve the economic dilemma. We damn Russia for repudiating the financial pirates who gyped her time and again during the old Czar government regime. We damn Russia because she will not tolerate financial racketeers and honor them as we do in America. We damn Russia because of her heroic attempt to advance her one hundred and fifty-six million people. We damn her for cultivating enormous acreages of wheat and other food products. We damn Russia for building one hundred great steel plants. We damn Russia for developing hundreds of thousands of water horse power from her rivers. We damn Russia for developing a gigantic lumber industry. We damn Russia for developing the world's greatest asbestos industry. We damn Russia for flooding the world's market with cotton. We damn Russia for destroying our foreign wheat market, because she can supply wheat at lower prices than we can.

We have damned Russia for continuing to exist as a Soviet Republic for fourteen years, while the master minds of "High Finance" year after year have predicted that she could not last as a Soviet Republic two weeks longer. We damn Russia because of her challenge to the criminal manipulators of "High Finance." We damn Russia not because we must follow her, but because we must change our economic plans in order to compete with her in the world's markets. We damn Russia for crimes which may be committed in Russia, but I daresay that in New York City alone, or in any other of the large cities here in America, there are more vicious crimes

committed in the way of murders, robberies, looting, briberies, public office corruption, etc., in twenty-four hours than could happen in the Russian Republic in a period of a whole month.

I do not defend Russian crime, but I do say that I doubt the sincerity of men who weep over crimes committed in Russia and at the same time object to the exposure of crime and corruption within our own country. In the courts of America time and again, we have witnessed the framing of men and women and the sending of them to death or to prison for no other reason than that they opposed the criminal despots of "High Finance." A report of the Federal Crime Commission, dated July, 1931, states they have officially found that men were sent to California State prisons fifteen years ago, and are still held there, and that all of the testimony against these men was perjured testimony, and that the entire case was a frame up, engineered by "High Finance."

We see New York City, the greatest of American cities—yes, the greatest city in the world—so corrupt in its public affairs and its public officials, that it no longer surprises or shocks those of us who read day after day of the new exposures of major crimes there, and some of the worst offenders are men who sit as judges.

In the affairs of the government of the United States we find criminal manipulators practically in complete control of the Federal Reserve System and the so-called Federal Reserve Bank, and with that gigantic national credit they actually plan and execute the wrecking of the nation's credit and the destruction of American industries. We weep because of Russian evils; we, with our clean hands condemn Russia. Officially, we are a damnable bunch of yellow hypocrites, and as one American, I will not have it said that I support such American hypocrisy.

Intelligent Americans are not interested nor have they any intentions of substituting for our form of government, anything pertaining to the Russian Soviet Republic, but with a little careful thinking, we must realize that there was probably no other way for Russia to go than the way she has chosen.

I was speaking a short time ago at an evening dinner to a

number of prominent and well known business men. I asked them—

> "If, when the Russian Empire blew up through revolution, the responsibilities had fallen into your hands to reorganize and direct one hundred and fifty-six million people, most of them illiterate, speaking over half-a-hundred different languages, spread out over a territory so vast that it requires twelve hours for the sun to pass that territory; with such vast expanse of territory and with scant means of communication either by transportation or by telegraph or telephone, with factions and clans and different races to deal with, Mr. Smart Businessman, Mr. Exceedingly Brilliant Businessman, what would you have done?
>
> "Who would be idiotic enough to take a copy of the Declaration of Independence and a copy of the Constitution of the United States of America, and hand them to those one hundred and fifty-six millions of illiterate and widely spread people, divided by many different customs foreign to each other, and barricaded from communication nationally, through the barriers of different languages? Any thoughtful person must realize that such a mass of distant scattered people could not possibly be organized at least for several generations under our form of constitutional government and our principles of public relations and commerce."

Here, in America, we proclaim we are a nation of the majority will and what the majority wills the minority must respect. Yet we deny to the Russians that to the best of their ability they may express their majority will, and we insist that there the minority be not required to respect the majority will.

Some may pick me up on the point that the Russian Soviet Republic is not governed by the will of the majority of her total population. I will admit that she is not governed by the majority will in relation to her total population, but all Russian citizens of voting age in Russia may vote today, and she is governed by the majority will of those who do vote. Directly in proportion to the decrease of illiteracy in Russia, voting numbers will increase. It will take time, but we Americans

should not be impatient as history tells us that after the Declaration of Independence against England, it took twelve years for the thirteen colonies to agree upon a constitution and then only after the "Bill of Rights" had been added. And now one hundred and fifty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, it is a rare instance when our voting establishes a common will of the majority of eligible voters, either by state or nation. In Russia as in America, the rule is to achieve the nearest to the will of the majority of the citizens who are eligible to vote.

It is necessary under the Russian intense plan of industrialism that all work and it is right that they should work. There is no substitute for work. Russia must work. Her labors must be intense; they must be highly co-ordinated. Russia is at war against the ghosts of her past. She must bring herself up commercially equal to other modern nations. Majority will of Russia will decide. Work is the law and work everyone must in Russia. It is a program of industrial war and certainly is as just as any brutal, murderous, military operations have ever been in the interest of commerce, such as the late World War.

In that World War we did not ask whether the young men of America would serve in the military ranks. We said, "You shall serve and you shall go to your death if necessary," and one hundred and twenty-two thousand of them died under arms of the United States in foreign lands, far removed from their homes, laboring, working, struggling in the mud, in barbed wire entanglements, and with their clothes full of vermin and their stomachs craving for food. At the same time we made in America, through our vicious, miserable hypocrisy, thirty-three thousand new millionaires.

We damn Russia—we damnable hypocrites. Russia has a right to struggle for her salvation. Russia could not hope to adopt our scheme of government at this time. Evolution through several generations will bring Russia to a new and powerful position in the affairs of the world. It is the honest, faithful struggle which the Russian people are making, and the admitted pitiful conditions they are willing to endure to

achieve success, that mocks the vicious and unprincipled tactics of "High Finance," which have almost wrecked the confidence of the citizens of many nations rated as civilized.

Let Russia alone! Let us attend to our own business, clean up our own rotten mess, and when we are clean and can shine and reflect decency in the form of honest and humane thinking leaders, then let us look, if we will, to foreign lands for something to criticize. We ought to recognize Russia. We ought to deal with her commercially. We ought to encourage her to advance. We ought to hold out the hand of good fellowship to every nation on earth, but we should be mighty careful that it is the hand of good fellowship and not the hand of a thief which we hold out.

Thus, I express myself, and thus, I meet the dictates of my conscience, in challenging the ultimatum of "High Finance." Thus, I say to "High Finance"—take your "hooey" about Russia and go to the devil with it.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society at Milwaukee, September 30th, 1859.

"From the first appearance of man upon the earth down to very recent times, the words "stranger" and "enemy" were quite or almost synonymous. Long after civilized nations had defined robbery and murder as high crimes, and had affixed severe punishments to them, when practiced among and upon their own people respectively, it was deemed no offense, but even meritorious, to rob and murder and enslave strangers, whether as nations or as individuals. Even yet this has not totally disappeared. The man of the highest moral cultivation, in spite of all which abstract principle can do, likes him whom he does know much better than him whom he does not know. To correct the evils, great and small, which spring from want of sympathy and from positive enmity among strangers, as nations or as individuals, is one of the highest functions of civilization.

Fragments of Lincoln from "An American Bible" by Alice Hubbard.

" . . . The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Political Parties and Government

YOU who have read the preceding chapters of this book are now aware that I am advocating sweeping political revolution through the ballot, and that I believe there is no other alternative for placing this country on a stable economic basis which will dovetail with the fundamental principles so well declared in the Declaration of Independence and which are written as the fundamental laws of our government in our national Constitution.

The present partisan political machine control of both state and Federal government affairs, in my opinion, makes it utterly hopeless to attempt to counteract their vicious political practices, through the medium of a new so-called third party. My experiences, a decade ago, with the Non-Partisan League movement of the Northwest, causes me to feel that in the Non-Partisan League principles lies the weapon which may be used in effectively attacking the two major parties nationally, not from without but from within. It is a fact in physics that it requires less power or pressure to explode a body from within that it requires to crush that same body from without. It is not the political parties which we fear; it is the vicious machine control of the parties which we really fear and it is these machines which we must subdue.

In a republic form of government parties may be necessary as political vehicles to carry into office the choice of the majority of the voters. Neither the Republican or Democrat parties are officially a part of the machinery of government. To believe so is to believe a fallacy which has been created by the vicious political partisan machines for the purpose of using the intended loyalty of the citizen to government as a protection to the non-government party machine.

There is no such thing as loyalty to two masters when both masters are endeavoring to direct the control of the same forces. To be loyal to a political party and loyal to government

is utterly impossible. Some people have not carefully reasoned on this point and they do not realize how ridiculous such presumed dual loyalty makes them.

There are people in the south who have said they would vote for a jackass if such was the Democrat Party's nominee. If they meant such a thing, even in a limited degree, how could they possibly be loyal to our republic form of government. My own father, a life long Republican who voted his tickets straight, deplored the fact that I could see any good in any party other than in the Republican party. He said to me, "Lester, your old Republican grand-dad would turn in his grave if he could hear you speak disloyally of the Republican party into which you were born."

I wonder how many of the old dead grand-daddies have flopped over in their graves in the last few years; as the American people are slowly but surely moving towards the time when partisan loyalty will be no more in this nation.

We hear a great deal about party responsibility. Such argument might hold good providing we had party responsibility, but party machine responsibility and party responsibility are two different—very different things. We often hear the statement that this is a two party country and by the two party system only is it possible to record the majority decision. I contend that we have not a two party system in this country which will permit a majority decision at the polls. We have instead, the nation divided geographically by two major parties, north and south, and we are still so close to the Civil War period that we cannot forget it on election day. Only a few years back it was considered extremely disloyal to the government to vote in the north as a Democrat, and in the south a Republican was the most detestable of all persons.

I would be highly in favor of a constitutional amendment which would make it mandatory that all voters would be required to vote for the nomination and the election of their preferred candidates within one of two parties established by law. These parties would not be parties bounded by geographical lines in the United States. They would not be parties controlled year after year by certain vicious political

and financial cliques. Two national political parties might be designated as the "Ins" and the "Outs." Then we would have party responsibility in the Congress of the United States. All of the "Ins," or at least most of them, would endeavor to render service to the nation of such high character as would hold the confidence of the voting citizen so that at the next election the "Ins" would be preferred and be retained in office. The "Ins" who did not retain the public confidence would find themselves transferred from the party of the "Ins" to the party of the "Outs."

By such party arrangement citizens who opposed those who were administering the government affairs would support the party of the "Outs." On the other hand, we would have all of those citizens who were confident that the "Ins" should remain in control working for the party of the "Ins." One of the fine features of such a plan it seems to me would be that once the "Outs" were as a mass successful in an election, the status of the "Outs" would be changed to the status of the "Ins," and the "Ins" that were would be the "Outs."

Such procedure would make short the life of any vicious political machine and also would eliminate parties built upon geographic lines. If only two parties were allowed in the field, such as I have here suggested, it would be possible to always have the majority mandate officially on record. With more than two parties in the field the majority will may never be determined. Our government is predicated upon the anticipated expressed will of the majority.

I am not the originator of the theory that party loyalty is dangerous to the proper functioning of government. I am merely speaking opinions which have been handed down to us from much higher authority than I can ever hope to be. I prefer to go back to recognized authorities not influenced by the present day so that I may get unbiased opinions on political affairs. I have gone back a long way and I am taking the liberty of quoting from the statements of a man who was remarkably free of so-called partisan loyalty. I shall quote here from the Farewell Address of the Father of our Country —George Washington.

" . . . In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern, Atlantic and western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

" . . . All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

"Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited

remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes by perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property."

Washington predicted that party loyalty would result in chaos in the form of civil war, the destruction of the confidence of the citizens in their ballot and in their government, the loss of life and liberty, depressions such as we are now in, and that foreign governments, through financial giants, would more or less control the government of our country. He predicted all of these things and more if the American people were so foolish in the future as to set up party loyalties. He distinctly said that party loyalty is a policy which may be practised in monarchies or empires, but that party loyalty is distinctly a policy of destruction to a republic form of government.

He predicted that political farce which we see each year in the Congress of the United States when the Democrat Party machine and the Republican Party machine spend their time planning and attempting to embarrass the opposition party machine. He predicted what we have at this moment—the President of the United States afraid to convene the Congress of the United States, knowing that it would be opposed to the Republican partisan machine loyalty which he recognizes as his master. Here in a great economic crisis, the greatest this nation has ever faced, all of the legislative machinery of the Federal Government is held suspended and inactive, because of the

cowardice of the President of the United States and the whip control over him by certain political and financial racketeers, who, for the most part have for many years financed the national Republican Party machine.

Hidebound partisans must not blame me for bringing to the attention of the readers of this book, portions of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and statements of Lincoln and Washington. I, like many others, have been taught that we should look to these old documents for guidance. If some of us can not forget them now, it is just too bad for so-called party patriots and financial racketeers. It may be old-fashioned to read and believe in the principles recorded in these old documents, but it is mighty safe ground to stand on, and there is certainly no room in the territories which the principles of these documents encompass for vicious political party machines and financial gangsters who control such machines.

Let us go on and study more of the wisdom of Washington and his warnings to us, in reference to political party machines.

> " . . . I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.
>
> "This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.
>
> "The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this

disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

"It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume."

Political parties as they exist today in America are maintained for two principal purposes. Neither of these purposes are beneficial to majority rule. The two purposes are, first, protection for "High Finance" and its vicious commercial practices. The other purpose is the developing of political positions and financial incomes for a vast army of individuals, who will be faithful and loyal to the party in control of government administration.

For instance, under the Republican Party administration of Federal and state governments today, there are over six hundred thousand people drawing incomes from the government. By far the vast majority of these work for the success of the

Republican Party at the elections in order to protect their jobs. Therefore, it is easy for them to imagine that good government depends upon the Republican Party. It is no secret that appointments to government positions, which are made through party agencies, are more often made for political expediency than for expected efficient services from the appointee. The results are that we have a vast number of utterly incompetent people holding important positions in government administration. It is often a source of wonder to citizens who are not familiar with party procedure how such incompetent and even exceedingly dishonest people can hold public office. As Washington admitted, there may be times when party machines render good administration services, but this is not the rule—it is the exception.

You who read this book, and I, know of particular instances where party machines in certain localities have rendered a high order of public service. But we must not forget that at every election the people expect that practically all of the service rendered by the victorious party, shall be of a high order of efficiency, and that the administration of public affairs must always be in the interest of the majority of the citizens and not a privileged class. After every election, with but few exceptions, the victorious party has failed to keep faith with the voters who made possible its control of governmental affairs.

From the "New York World-Telegram" editorial, dated July 30th, 1931, I take the following two paragraphs—

> "The Democrats received a large part of their 1928 funds from one man. They owe National Chairman Raskob $202,000 on his own note, and $495,000 on notes he has taken with other men as promise of reimbursement.
>
> "The Republicans collected more than half a million of their $6,000,000 in 1928 from a few wealthy interests, often found seeking special favors from the government."

As politics stand today the national Republican and Democrat parties are bought and paid for in cash, just like any other commodity, and like very old men these old political parties

have become re-actionary, conservative, senile, and a bar to progress.

I am not so much of an egoist as to believe that with me lies the only knowledge for the solution of efficient government administration. Delegated to us all in the Federal Constitution is the right to express our opinions publicly and freely on all matters which we desire to discuss with our fellow citizens and it is reasonable to believe there are a considerable number of men and women in this country who can advance practical opinions for the efficient administration of government affairs. The question before us all is, which plan shall we follow? It is necessary at this time that the American people concentrate on one good plan and it should not be too complicated. It should be a plan which will direct the efforts of the voters towards the gaining of the fundamentals rather than the details for good administration control. Details of farm relief, labor, old age pensions, employment, tariff, prohibition, etc. are not fundamental problems upon which to base the building of a nation-wide militant army of voters, bent upon achieving sweeping political revolution. The above mentioned problems and many others are problems which can only be met after sweeping fundamental changes have taken place in the control of government.

In my opinion what is fundamental and that which must be accomplished before all other government problems can be met is the creating of a nation-wide Non-Partisan League organization, militant in character, and with one big purpose as its objective—the sweeping out of control of government affairs and industry of that vicious and criminal element which we call "High Finance." There is only one procedure which I can conceive of that will eliminate "High Finance" control of our nation's destiny, and that is through the establishment of laws which set a maximum for the amount of property or commercial values which any individual may possess.

That, it seems to me, is the great task ahead of us. If sufficient American voters will rise to that task and amend the Federal Constitution in such a manner as will make it impossible for financial despots and financial racketeers to exist,

then it will be a relatively easy task to accomplish, through legislation, the solution of most of the other problems which confront us as a nation.

Lincoln's Meditation on the Divine Will.

"The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Fragments of Lincoln from "An American Bible" by Alice Hubbard.

" . . . Politicians who have interests aside from the interest of the people, are—that is, the most of them are, taken as a mass—at least one step removed from honest men. I say this with the greater freedom because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal."

Political Revolution in the Northwestern States

WE have now come to the last phase of this book—that which pertains to suggested plans for political revolution through the ballot. Before I enter into a discussion on ways and means which might be employed in the successful prosecution of political revolution through the ballot, I shall endeavor here to establish a convincing criterion that political revolution through the ballot may not only be successfully consummated, but may be carried through in all of its phases within the legal limits of the constitution of the United States of America.

I contend that political revolution through the ballot may be attempted and the objectives gained and that such endeavors need not at any time conflict with the principles of the Constitution of the United States but, on the other hand, will be in direct conformity to the intentions of the Constitution.

The methods of procedure which I will later suggest will also closely conform to the principles of political revolution, which was successfully carried out in several of the northwestern states a decade ago.

East of the Mississippi River we often hear the expression that "the western states are more progressive politically than the eastern states." That expression generally emanates from persons who have but slight knowledge of national political affairs. It is generally their way of passing off the necessity for answering intelligently—"Where does the west differ politically from the east, and how?" They do not know except that there is a difference.

West of the Mississippi River there is much territory politically as reactionary as the eastern sections. Missouri, Kansas. Colorado, Wyoming, Arkanas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and even New Mexico, Arizona, and California are but little ahead politically of the eastern states.

Nevada can lay no great claim for being progressive. Oregon is just mediocre, while the state of Washington is advancing towards the progressive line. Utah still belongs to the reactionaries, politically.

The states which are up and continuously at war with the old political order, and have been now for a decade or more, are—Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana and Idaho. Of these rebel states, Wisconsin is the only one east of the Mississippi. From these eight states comes that coalition of Congressional representatives, especially in the United States Senate, who are found most of the time aligned on the same side of the various issues before the Congress.

This is more evident in the United States Senate than in the House of Representatives, but after each election, these northwestern states are sending more representatives to the House, who are recognized as additions to the progressive forces. We find these progressives in both Houses of Congress, whether Republican, Democratic or Farmer-Labor representatives, working shoulder to shoulder, regardless of party lines.

In the eastern part of the United States we hear much criticism of these men. We are continuously reminded of their seeming failure to be loyal to their national party leaders. For reasons unknown to the people in the east, the representatives from the eight states which I have mentioned are out of harmony with both the national Republican and Democratic party controls. Much space is given in the eastern newspapers in condemnation of these men, collectively and individually. First it is one who is being politically pummeled, scandalized and defamed, and then it is all of them, and then it is their constituents throughout the northwest, who are damned for their gullibility in following these men.

Little of the political facts of the northwestern coalition which has broken down all party lines in the northwest are ever heard of or understood in the east. The fact of the matter is that the farmers of these northwestern states, together with the people in the small towns, and also in the larger cities,

have developed a political procedure which is blocking much of the political control which heretofore has been exercised by "High Finance" of the east over western states.

The voters of these states have little respect for partisan loyalty and national party machines. No longer do they feel obliged to vote the party ticket straight. They split their tickets, voting partly Democratic, partly Republican, and in many cases Independent, and they will as quickly vote Democratic as Republican in any of these states when deciding their choice for President—a sad, sad state of affairs when viewed from within the camps of so-called party regulars. In the northwest the Democratic mule and the Republican elephant weep much because of the abuse which is bestowed upon them by the Non-Partisan League Goat*—the animal which works with its head.

At the national capital we often find Senator Walsh and Senator Wheeler of Montana, both Democrats, and sometimes Senator Dill of Washington, another Democrat, voting on the same side of an issue as the Republican Senators of North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Wisconsin and Nebraska. Voting with them also will be found the lone Farmer-Labor Senator, Shipstead, of Minnesota, and very often Senator Borah of Idaho casts his vote with these political rebels.

In the United States Senate, this coalition of northwestern Senators is the balanced power which often is exercised in favoring either the Republican or the Democratic factions. This balance of power greatly irks the Hoover administration. It was continuously boring in and embarrassing the Coolidge administration, and is almost wholly responsible for the exposure of corruption practised during the Harding administration.

With but few exceptions, during the last ten years, this northwestern group of rebel Senators have been the men, who, time and again, have blocked shady legislation and vicious and criminal political practices. Time and again the Repub-

*The emblem of the Non-Partisan League of the Northwest is a running goat with head down, preparing to deliver a violent blow to an opponent, by butting.

lican National Party machine has tried in various ways to drive out of the party the Senators who have been elected on the Republican ticket from the northwestern states. Never once has the Republican Party national machine ever been partially victorious in these attempts.

A decade ago, the Non-Partisan League of the northwestern states was dying out, after a career marked by a long string of victories in the destruction of the national and state partisan control over many of these states. It had served its purpose as a political revolution and had gained many of its main objectives. Because of the high-powered revolutionary character and the tremendous speed with which that League worked it could not be expected to live beyond the time its main objectives had been reached.

I think the readers of this book will be interested in knowing some of the true facts regarding the political revolution engineered by the Non-Partisan League of the northwestern states a few years ago.

I saw a great deal of the happenings of the Non-Partisan League and its opponents. I was not in at the original forming of the Non-Partisan League, but I had an extremely important part as one of its leaders during the last two years of its effective existence.

During those two years I experienced the burning fires of hate and passion which always let loose when the old political order is forced to give way to the new. I saw and heard many things politically over seven states in 1919 and 1920, which were, and still are unbelievable to most of the citizens of the eastern part of the United States. I learned there the necessity to "grin and bear" the vicious attacks which only political gangsters are capable of attempting.

During those two years my hide took on a heavy callous, and I became practically immune to the stings of criticism. Instead of fearing criticism, unfair and vicious in character, I found it to be a powerful ally to our cause as it would generally return to the camps of those who had cast it with the speed and accuracy and destruction of a boomerang which had been powerfully thrown.

Political gangsters are aware of the fear that most people have of being criticized before the public. Their knowledge of this fact leaves in their hands a weapon which they use often and ruthlessly. With this weapon they intimidate and drive millions of people in the political direction which always leads to the violation of the public trust.

A well-tanned hide in these days is a personal asset to any one who possesses it, and I know of none who do, who would care to return to the days when they had "the skin you like to touch." To retain "that schoolgirl complexion" may be a worthy objective, but it does not stand up well in a fight.

If I had not seen the northwestern political rebellion during the period immediately after the war I doubt if I would now trust in the American people's ability to recover national confidence and stability. The wonderful intelligence and mass action, especially of the farmers of those northwestern states, during the years of the war and immediately after, was an inspiration to me, which will probably affect my political thought for the rest of my days.

In 1919 and 1920, I often saw as many as ten thousand people standing in one solid mass, hour after hour, listening to the political doctrines of their leaders. They were following their League plan with all the enthusiasm and fervor that people generally display as loyalty to their governments in time of war.

On several occasions I witnessed as many as twenty-five thousand in a single audience, not sitting but standing in an open field, under a summer sun. Day after day and night after night, weekdays, Sundays and holidays, I spoke to vast audiences through the northwset. Often I realized that some of these people had come from distances up to two hundred miles in their cheap motor cars in order that they might be present to take part in the demonstrations of the Non-Partisan League.

They were not rich people; they were mostly people of the agricultural industry, whose lives had been spent in long hours of toil, often from daybreak until after dark, and yet, they found time to study and discuss all sides of the political ques-

tions which were before them, prior to their going to the ballot box.

To me, those two years were a tremendous demonstration that the American people can and will adjust their governmental affairs when the need becomes great for such action. The people of this nation owe to the people of the northwest, a great vote of thanks as the vanguard of progressive and constructive politics during our time. It is my opinion that this whole nation will find that the Non-Partisan political tactics as applied by the northwest a few years back will be the solution to the political problems which the nation now faces.

The actual Non-Partisan League organization did not exist as a powerful political body in all of the northwestern states, but had its branches and little groups scattered throughout the northwest and its influence was felt strongly throughout that part of the nation. There was some League organization in Wisconsin; there was practically none in the state of Iowa; there was a strong League organization in Minnesota and South Dakota, as well as Nebraska and Montana. North Dakota was completely dominated by the Non-Partisan League organization.

Political gangdom and "High Finance" in the east were badly scared, and they had good reason to be as the political records of those times show that the Non-Partisan League movement has been the most powerful and most successful independent political effort since Abraham Lincoln led the Republican Party to its first victory in 1860.

The movement started in North Dakota in 1916. The Non-Partisan League revolt grew from a comparatively unimportant incident.

North Dakota is primarily a wheat-raising state. Not all of the wheat raised in that state is of equal quality, but much of it is what is known as No. 1 Northern Hard. That in grade below No. 1 is known as Nos. 2, 3 and 4, and the prices are accordingly lower. When purchased from the farmers it is purchased according to its grade. For many years the North Dakota farmers had been robbed by the purchasers of their

wheat through the method of false grading, the purchasers establishing the grade, not the farmer.

The results were that almost four times as much No. 1 Northern Hard wheat was delivered to the Minneapolis mills from North Dakota as had seemingly been purchased in North Dakota. It had been purchased as Nos. 2, 3 and 4. On reaching Minneapolis, it was re-graded as No. 1 and sold at the No. 1 price by the grain grading swindlers.

Each year, the farmers of North Dakota lost millions of dollars through this criminal wheat grading procedure, and while they remained faithful and loyal to the traitorous national and state leaderships of the Republican and Democratic parties, they were helpless to effectively protest against the manipulation of the grain speculators and thieves.

The grain grading racket of those days was within the law, but those laws, like many laws, were enacted for the protection of criminals and not for the protection of the productive citizens.

The day is not far distant when the American people will establish laws that will effectively prevent major gambling in food commodities. The professional gambler is a parasite feeding upon legitimate society. He is a criminal by instinct and a pest, and should be exterminated.

For many years the farmers of North Dakota had elected representatives to their State Legislature on the promise of the candidates that a new grading law would be enacted whereby the state officials would grade the wheat before it was purchased for the Minneapolis mills, but always the majority of the new legislative members forgot their pledges to the farmers in reference to the grading law. Organizations which gambled in wheat beyond the borders of North Dakota, and through the power of money, saw to it that men reached the Legislature, in the majority, who would do their bidding.

But, the day of reckoning arrived in North Dakota. Farmers from all over the State, under the leadership of A. C. Townley, moved in a body upon the capital of North Dakota. They came by the thousands. They marched up to the capital building and on into the building, and on to the floor of the legislature, much to the amazement of the members of the legislature.

Instead of getting off of the floor at the demand of the state officials, they issued an ultimatum then and there. The ultimatum was similar in words to the following:

> "We have been fooling with you fellows as long as we are going to. Year after year, you have lied to us. We here have a proposed bill which will establish a State grading law for our wheat. We are here to tell you to pass it and pass it now, or we will know the reason why."

Then the fireworks went off. One of the legislative members, feeling his own importance and believing in the strength of his backers, hurled back at the invaders, these words:

> "We are the members of the legislature; we are running this State. You farmers go home and slop the hogs. We will attend to things here."

With that, Townley called to his followers, with the words, "Come on, fellows! Let's slop the hogs."

Out marched the farmers from the chambers of the legislature to an auditorium downtown, and there and on that day they formed the organization of the Non-Partisan League, which in five years was destined to break the power of the partisan political machines of Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin.

At the very next election in North Dakota, after those farmers had marched from the capital building, all state officers and practically all members of the Legislature, who were not affiliated with the Non-Partisan League, were swept from office, and into office, from the Governor down, went mostly farmers. The new Non-Partisan League Governor was Farmer Lynn Frazier. He was the first college graduate to hold that office in North Dakota.

During the late World War the national Democratic administration then in power was as bitter and vicious in its attacks upon the Non-Partisan League as any national Republican administration could have been had it been in power at that time.

To a great extent the Non-Partisan League activities were curbed during the war by the miserable and cowardly tactics

which are invariably employed during periods of great national emergency, by unscrupulous profiteers, financial pirates and political gangdom.

Farmers, through their League organization, endeavored to co-operate with the Federal Government in the sale of Liberty Bonds. Not only were they refused the Federal Government's co-operation in the sale of the bonds, but they were actually refused the right, in many cases, to work for the sale of those bonds.

A terrific barrage of the most vicious and baseless propaganda which it was possible for political gangsters to conceive of, was released by the national administration, under the Democratic Party control, for the purpose of destroying the League before the war would terminate.

Political gangdom under the guise of loyalty on their part loudly cried the disloyalty of the League and its members. Thousands of mobs were led by the old political elements in frantically endeavoring to crush, through intimidation, the new political movement of the farmers. Especially did the farmers of German origin suffer at the hands of the political mobs which were led by both Republican and Democrat henchmen.

It is actually a fact that many of the mobs were led by sheriffs of the counties under the guise of protection to the nation against internal traitors.

In several instances men who were known to be loyal Americans and hard-working farmers were actually murdered by these vicious and hysterical mobs. Women in the homes of members of the Non-Partisan League were removed from their beds at night by mobs and in one case in Wisconsin marched barefooted in their nightgowns from their homes and were beaten by men who called themselves patriots.

In the State of Minnesota alone, up until the middle of 1919, there had been over three hundred mobs led against the Non-Partisan Leaguers, and there had not been a single arrest made of members of the mobs by the officials of that state or the officials of the counties or towns.

Farmers' homes were burnt and farm machinery in the fields was destroyed at night. Their automobiles were wrecked

and independent League newspaper plants were burnt and wrecked and pilfered, all under the plea of the mobs, that it was necessary to subdue the disloyal farmers.

The following document was presented to Governor Burnquist of Minnesota on the 15th day of May, 1918, by eight state and congressional candidates, as well as sixty-four legislative candidates. They all not only signed this document but were all present at the time the document was read in the presence of Governor Burnquist.

Hon. J. A. A. Burnquist,
Governor of the State of Minnesota,
St. Paul, Minnesota
Sir:

"We, the undersigned, candidates for State, Congressional and Legislative offices, among whose supporters are most of the agricultural and industrial producers of the State, by this memorial bring, once more, to your attention conditions existing in Minnesota with which you are already perfectly familiar, and which you must know are in violation of the constitution of this state and of this nation, and repugnant to a free people.

"The constitution of the State of Minnesota provides that 'all persons may freely speak, write and publish their sentiments on all subjects.' You, sir, as Governor, have failed to protect the farmers and workers in the enjoyment of these rights. You have permitted their speakers and the candidates for public office, whom they support, to be unlawfully vilified, assaulted, arrested, kidnapped and mobbed. We cite here, as one of the many outrages, the unlawful arrest of Meyer Branvig, candidate for state senator from the 9th legislative district, while making a loyal speech, reading from President Wilson's book, 'The New Freedom' and advocating the tonnage tax, in a political meeting.

"It is the clearly indicated purpose of some officials connected with your administration to establish a reign of frightfulness throughout the state for political purposes. It is more than a mere belief on our part when we say that your Public Safety Commission has on more than one occasion secretly approved and encouraged this intimidation and oppression, and those, who have been guilty of these wrongs, have the countenance, if not the protection, of your great office.

"If there are any disloyal people in the state, we pledge

our earnest co-operation and assistance to secure their conviction and imprisonment, but we cannot accept your conclusion that opposition to your administrations of the affairs of this great state, is proof of any man's disloyalty. In attempting to make your personal loyalty, aided and abetted by mob violence, intimidation and oppression, the issue in the coming campaign, you have unwittingly made Democracy the real issue.

"We are quite willing to admit that you are patriotic, but wish to remind you that in nearly every case thus far where candidates for public office in this nation have attempted to personally monopolize the patriotism of the country, they have been rebuked at the polls. To attempt to divide the American people on that issue is unpatriotic and un-American. We invite you and your supporters to meet us on the real issue of this campaign—the tonnage tax, the packers' trust, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the labor problems—and last but not least, the American and democratic issue of free assemblage and free speech. Upon these issues the campaign will be determined.

"It is hard for us to believe that any candidate in America would be willing to continue himself in office by allowing peace officers and officials under the control of his administration and responsible to him to establish a reign of terror and prevent the free discussion of the economic and political issues of the day, and thus destroy our republican form of government.

"In view of the fact that we are determined to carry on a more active campaign from now on, we wish to state that if, while claiming that your loyalty to our nation is superior to other candidates, you neverthless imperil the public safety and peace by forcibly silencing public discussion, then we publicly declare to you that the consequence of such a course will rest upon you. As good and loyal citizens, we demand that you prevent the continuation of this unfortunate condition—we are determined to maintain democracy in our state."

Mobbing of the farmers in the Northwest by mobs led by political gangsters affiliated with the old party machine controls left a terrible record throughout the period of the war. But when the sons of those farmers returned from the battle fronts of Europe to their homes a new organization of Vigilantes was formed called the World War Veterans. Scores of thousands of those fine young fellows called upon the mobs to

reappear, but none came forth to die for their country, for this was the threat which the ex-service men held out: "We will kill every man we catch who is a member of a mob, if we get him while the mob is in action."

If there is any one thing which I can be proud of personally, it is the fact that I was the first elected leader of those returned service men. Three times in succession I was elected as the head of the World War Veterans of the Northwest.

Opposition propaganda, contending that I had manouvered my personal position with the veterans organization to where I was practically a dictator of its affairs, brought me to the decision to resign twice and call for an election of a new leader, but at each of the elections I was the only nominee and was re-elected without opposition. My resignations and re-elections took the wind out of the sails of the opposition. They could no longer contend that I was dealing arbitrarily with the Vigilantes organization.

Here is another strange fact—I was not officially in the military service of the United States government during the war. But I had to my credit hundreds of hours of volunteer air service, flying with experimental bombs, which I was developing for and under the orders of the War Department.

The military tasks with which I was concerned were performed only by volunteers who understood the hazardous character of the work. There are many men in this country who rendered similar service, but all during the period of the war they conducted their military work as civilians so that they might be free of the red-tape and much of the known incompetency on the part of many officials who wore military uniforms.

When America entered the war there was a great rush on the part of many business men and others to wiggle themselves into a uniform of any rank from lieutenant up to major-general—major-general preferred. Thousands of these men were utterly incompetent. Of course, I do not want to be understood as claiming that there were no competent officers drawn from civilian life. There were many thousands of excellent and competent men who donned the uniform of officers during the

period of the war, but to some of us the uniform could not have helped us in our duties. It would have been a great hindrance and so we had to forego the glory of wearing the uniform of military service during the greatest war in which America has ever taken part.

I desire to quote from records which I have in my possession in reference to the peculiar nature of the military service which was required of some of us who were well known as creative engineers, but first I shall here give a short review of political history in the State of Iowa during the first part of 1920.

The Republican Party powers of Iowa had said that no Non-Partisan League speakers or men affiliated with that organization would be allowed to speak in the State of Iowa. With one or two others I was selected to go into Iowa and break the opposition. We started in on that task in January 1920, and by the last of August we had broken the grip of the old Republican Party machine upon the State. They have never regained it.

The most telling blow against the old political order was at Fort Dodge, Iowa. I was leading the movement which was exceedingly militant. We were able to get the farmers into political convention for the first time in the history of the state. There were many attempts to intimidate and frighten the farmers who planned to attend the convention. The Iowa State Federation of Labor was called to convene at Fort Dodge. The farmer convention was called to meet on the same dates and also at Fort Dodge. We called the ex-service men of the World War Veterans to be on hand in case any violence was resorted to by the political opponents. Violence had been threatened if the farmers and the Federation of Labor men marched in their proposed parade, but there was no violence. I arranged police protection for the parade in the form of three hundred World War Veterans.

There was a strength test at the Federation of Labor convention on the part of the "pros and cons," as to whether I should speak before the convention or not. The "pros" finally won. At the end of one hour's talk which I made before that

body, the convention officially went over into the ranks of the progressive political movement in the State of Iowa.

I was vigorously lambasted by the reactionary press of the state which was supporting the old Republican Party machine. The political reactionaries sent out notices to the American Legion posts in Iowa, presuming to warn them that I and the elements which I represented were of the most dangerous and disloyal kind. However, I can happily say that the American Legion posts in the State of Iowa conducted themselves marvelously in the face of such propaganda, and for the most part, wherever I talked, the Legion organizations which came out to "look-see," remained to shake my hand, and in many cases the members of the Legion became members of the World War Veterans Vigilantes.

Professional politicians are as a rule much over-rated as to their supposed intelligence. One of their weak spots, I find, is their willingness to broadcast any untruthful and vicious thoughts which they may have and which they hope may embarrass their political opponents. So when the Legion boys came out to take a look at "awful me," I would take the opportunity to inform them on certain war grafts which I had seen at first hand.

As a sample of editorials running in Iowa at that time, I quote one from the "Cedar Rapids Republican." This editorial is in reference to an attorney and ex-service man from Minnesota, Wade Martin, and myself.

"The Appeal to the Farmers"

> A pair of howling dervishes appeared before the labor convention in Fort Dodge the other day and their utterances have been broadcasted over the country as something typical of Iowa labor, if not of Iowa in general. That is the way that such things get about. The newspapers print the sensational stuff and forget the rest. As a matter of fact the head men in the federation meeting in Fort Dodge may have had the matter under long discussion, whether the radical fellows should be given a hearing. But it was thought best, so the story runs, to let them have their say so, to the end that it could not be said that labor was trying to suppress the freedom of speech. It was only out of such consideration that the firebrands were given

permission to get it out of their systems. Nor are these men of any standing either in the labor world or outside of it. They are not men of good repute. They belong to the Weary-Willie classes. They do not work and they do not want to work and they have evolved the idea that it is not necessary to work. All that men have to do to live is to take what others have garnered and saved. If a farmer has wheat in his bin, why should it belong to him? He did not produce it. It was produced by rain and sunshine. The wheat is God's—or as they say—nature's gift to men, and no one man has a right to hold it in his bin and claim it as his own."

The first convention of the World War Veterans organization in the State of Iowa was held on Thursday, March 25th, 1920, in Des Moines, Iowa. Many newspapers in the state, including at least one in Des Moines, were screeching their rage at the rapid development of the progressive political movement in the state. The political opposition was not long in recognizing that the World War Veterans was in character a Vigilante organization, and was being organized to counteract any attempt which might be made on the part of the reactionary politicians to use the American Legion of the state to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. Of course I was singled out and condemned as just about the maximum in the personification of vicious characters. I was heralded far and wide as a conscientious objector, a deserter from the army, an I. W. W., a Bolshevik, a rabid Socialist, a man who never worked and countless other designations of vicious character.

The following is taken from the resolution of the World War Veterans convention in Iowa in 1920:

"Resolved, that the World War Veterans of Iowa, in convention assembled, condemn the unfair criticism made by the enemies of the World War Veterans, of the service record of Lester P. Barlow, temporary national chairman of the World War Veterans. We especially condemn this criticism from men who, though in the uniform of the United States army or navy during a part of the war, were never in a moment's danger from any land, naval or aerial operation. Such men well know that Lester P. Barlow was in constant grave peril throughout the period of the war, and that he did not enter any arm of the service because of the specific request of the War Department

that he should not; and that he refused a commission because the work he performed and which no one else could perform, required an independence which could not be preserved in uniform, which would render him subject to the orders of superior officers ignorant of and not interested in the peculiar services performed by Lester P. Barlow working directly under the orders of the Secretary of War.

"The World War Veterans of Iowa hereby cast their unanimous vote for, and choice of, Lester P. Barlow as temporary national chairman of the organization until the meeting of the national convention; and we recommend that all other state and regional conventions join with us in his election to said position."

One of the most popular periodicals in Iowa, was the "Iowa Homestead," a weekly farm paper which was supporting the progressive political movement. About the time that the War Veterans were holding their convention in Des Moines, Iowa, the "Iowa Homestead" printed a copy of the following letter, which took considerable wind out of the sails of our reactionary opponents.

United States Senate,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
Washington, D. C.
July 9th, 1918.

Hon. William G. Sharp,
The American Ambassador,
Paris, France.

My dear Mr. Ambassador,

I take the liberty of introducing my friend, Lester P. Barlow, who is a successful inventor of bombs and other devices being used by our Government. He visits France under orders of the Chief of Staff here to do some experimental work, and I volunteered to give him this letter of introduction to you.

It may be that he will have occasion to call upon you, and in such case I will appreciate such courtesies as you may be able to extend to him. He is the author of some unusual inventions and devices, and has, in my opinion, rendered valuable service by his inventive genius.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) G. M. Hitchcock,
U. S. Senate.

The returning service men of the Northwest when they selected me as their leader, knew that I had twice been "over there" performing hazardous tasks during the period of the war. So they accepted me as a soldier in fact, but minus official paper pedigree.

As the World War Veterans organization grew in power, the mobs led by the super-patriots vanished into history. When the mobbing spirit reared its head and threatened to strike at the farmers' meetings I would reach for the telephone and in a few minutes time automobiles, principally Ford cars, loaded with young fellows wearing khaki uniforms and carrying pitch forks and shotguns, fairly bounded over the hills as they concentrated on the threatened mob centre.

We rarely found any but those who had a smile on their faces. None were found who were looking for a fight. There would have been plenty of violence had the World War Veterans Vigilantes ever caught up with the mobs, but I am proud to say that during the entire period that the Veterans Vigilantes operated, we never were required to resort to violence in subduing the mob spirit. There are hundreds of thousands of citizens in the Northwest who can testify to this day that the emphatic ultimatum issued by the World War Veterans Vigilantes to the mobsters convinced all that there was a determination behind that ultimatum which meant there would have been hell if the Veterans had met a mob.

On the cessation of military action by the World Powers at the end of 1918, the Non-Partisan League rapidly gained membership and momentum, and crashed through to victory in many places. The Eastern newspapers were full of the stories of the so-called Socialists of the Northwestern states, rapidly expanding their power, socializing everything, including the women of their states. The farmers of the Northwest were heralded far and wide in the Eastern press as being financed in their political activities by the Russian Bolsheviks, and all the members of the League were either Socialists or I. W. W.'s or out-and-out Bolsheviks.

Paper after paper in the East told of the terrible conditions that were developing because of the League control. They told

of the Non-Partisan League banks going broke by the hundreds throughout the Northwest, while the fact of the matter was no banks affiliated with the Non-Partisan League movement had at any time failed. There were a number of banks which were forced to close their doors, but in each case these banks were institutions whose officers were attacking the Non-Partisan League, and in most cases were ordered to do so by "High Finance," who issued their orders from Chicago and New York.

Excerpt from Lincoln's Speech at Edwardsville, Ill., September 13th, 1858.

"What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea-coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of these may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Plans for Political Revolution through the Ballot

WE have now waited almost three years since the so-called stock-market crash, for the tin gods to step forth and lead this country forward along economic, practical, constructive plans. There has been a lot of talk and a lot of suggestions for alleviating the so-called depression. Most suggestions relating to the problem have been only glittering generalities, with no detailed, constructive plan behind them. This nation cannot live as a republic of free citizens automatically. It can only continue as a republic through the expressed will of the majority through the ballot.

In lieu of no known proposed plan to put this country on a firm economic basis which will generate a high order of national confidence in our form of government, I am advancing suggestions along specific plans for the co-ordinating of nation-wide citizen efforts, of political revolutionary character. The plans which I am suggesting may not be followed in their entirety. They may be modified or they may be extended: If there is no other general plan of political revolution available to accomplish the purpose which we, as citizens, have the right to demand as our birthright, then what I suggest may be available to the voters of the nation for their consideration.

I propose the organizing of the Non-Partisan League of America. I propose that it be organized in military form. I further propose that it take on a militant character, and that it display its power from time to time in demonstrations of marching masses of its members and in frequent mass meetings. I propose that on election day its members go in mass to the polls and prove the power of their combined efforts in voting, according to the pre-arranged understanding of its members.

My experience with the Non-Partisan League movement of the Northwest, a decade ago, convinced me of the great worth of several of the fundamental rules practiced at that time. I

recommend that these rules of the old Non-Partisan League of the Northwest be incorporated in the new constitution of the Non-Partisan League of America, which I am proposing. Those rules as applied to the organization which I suggest would be similar to the following:

(1) Any person who is holding public office, either elective or appointed, shall be ineligible to hold office or serve as a committee man in any part of the organization of the Non-Partisan League of America.

This rule will prevent any public officer from officially being in a position to control any part of the Non-Partisan League organization for his own political purposes.

(2) No officer or committee man in any part of the Non-Partisan League may hold himself out as a candidate for public office, either elective or appointed.

This rule prevents officers or committee men of the League organization from using the League for their own purposes or to advance themselves to public office.

(3) No officer or member of a committee of the Non-Partisan organization shall allow others to advance his name as a candidate for public office, either elective or appointed, and if his name is advanced, he must either repudiate such suggestion or immediately resign as an officer or committee man, whichever he may be.

This rule prevents any ambitious officer of the League arranging with his friends to advance his name as a candidate for public office.

(4) Any officer or committee man of the League who fails to adhere to the above rules shall be automatically barred from rendering any further service as an officer or committee man to the Non-Partisan League.

Provision should be made in the constitution of the Non-Partisan League which would allow an appeal on the last rule, but such appeal should only be possible to the executive committee of the state wherein the question originates, or to the national organization.

(5) Any member of the Non-Partisan League who announces his candidacy for public office shall be blacklisted and

his name posted before the League organization as undesirable for public office.

This rule was generally extended by the Non-Partisan League of the Northwest to those beyond the membership of the League. The purpose of this rule is to discourage undesirable professional politicians from advancing themselves for public office, and to develop in the minds of the voting citizens that more efficient public officers can generally be obtained by drafting them as candidates for election to public offices.

Careful consideration of the above rules will bring anyone to the realization that if they are rigidly adhered to by a non-partisan organization of vast numbers of voters, self-perpetuating partisan political machines will quickly disappear. Furthermore, successful candidates to office, approved by the Non-Partisan League, will feel their responsibility to the citizens far more keenly than they will loyalty to political party.

The Non-Partisan League is not a political party. It is a league of voters working along coordinated plans to take control of political parties which are already in existence. Nationally, the Non-Partisan League may work at the same time through both of the major political parties, and may even extend its activities in certain localities in support of independent candidates.

The general plan of the League insofar as a single state is concerned, is to take control of one of the major parties through the League members control of the caucuses or through League members winning elections at the primaries. Although many of the states in the nation have adopted the primary system for the determining of candidates for the regular elections, there are still some states which have not accepted the primary system of nomination. These states operate under township caucus, the county caucus and the state convention system.

In those states the League would endeavor to take control of one of the major parties through the preponderance of League members at the caucuses throughout the state. The flexibility of the Non-Partisan League makes it possible for the local organizations of the League to support candidates for local office on one party, and support candidates for county and state

offices on another party, or candidates on an independent ticket for any office within the state.

In states where the primary system for nomination is practiced, the League lends itself readily to the obtaining of petitions for placing League desired candidates on the primary ticket and then by pre-arranged decisions as to the favored candidates the League members concentrate at the polls and vote for the preferred candidates. After the primaries the League organization then, through mass meetings and committee meetings, determines upon the candidates most desirable to be supported in the regular election, and at the regular election they again concentrate their votes on their preferred candidates. No League member is pledged to cast his or her vote for any particular candidate, but they are acquainted with the names and the reasons for the League preference of candidates for public office.

It would be necessary and desirable that all members of the Non-Partisan League of America be pledged to support the fundamental purposes of the avowed political revolution, operating under the direction of the League. No member of the League should be elected as an officer or as a committee man in any place in the League organization who would not pledge himself to support the fundamental purpose of political revolution conducted under the management of the Non-Partisan League of America.

The reader will now probably realize that we would not be destroying political parties, but we would be forcing them to function as the voters intend they shall. The Non-Partisan League would not be required to build up a huge national and state political structure, which is required by law in all states, in the form of political parties. To build up a new third party, so-called, would be a tremendous task but the Non-Partisan League plan makes it a relatively simple matter to capture in any state the official machinery of any of the recognized political parties of long standing. Furthermore, it is much easier to get people to vote for progressive legislation if they can vote through the party to which they have long been affiliated.

If the League is successful in capturing the political party

which is generally the dominant party in any particular state, then the League for all practical purposes captures most of the voters who have in the past adhered to that particular party in that state. The League has a distinct advantage in this respect because it may get political control in a state dominated by the Democratic Party, while in another state the League may dominate through the Republican Party. The policy of the League would be to get control of the Democratic Party in the States where it normally controlled, and to get control of the Republican Party in the states where it is considered the strongest.

Of course, such procedures on the part of the Non-Partisan League of the Northwest were recognized by the professional political elements as highly destructive of partisan machine political control and the professional politician adhering to partisan machine control will, today, vigorously oppose the development of the principles of the Non-Partisan League of America. They can hardly be expected to do otherwise, as the very purpose of the Non-Partisan League is to wipe out of politics the professional political gangsters and the control of political parties by "High Finance."

I am ready to follow any leader who can gain the confidence of sufficient American voters to successfully lead political revolution, the purpose of which will be to exterminate from American commerce and government, financial racketeers and financial despots, and restore to the American people the fundamentals of the constitutional government as promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

It is immaterial to me what legal methods are used or what particular angle these revolutionary moves may take, so long as they constructively lead the American people in the direction of the main objectives. I am not aware at the time of writing this book of any suggested plan for political revolution through the ballot whose objective shall be the accomplishment of the fundamental tasks which I have, to the best of my ability, discussed in the previous chapters of this book. Therefore, I suggest a plan of revolutionary attack against those

whom I contend are the real enemies of our constitutional form of government.

I would want to see such proposed revolution succeed. In such revolution it is my desire to be delegated such responsibility as I am capable of executing, so that I may help to the utmost in bringing success to the revolution. I am making this statement in reference to myself, because I know that opponents of the Non-Partisan League will lose no time in stating that I am endeavoring to build a place for myself through the medium of revolutionary control of government. I believe that because of my past experience I could render excellent service in the field of political revolution. I have no desire to hold public office, either elective or appointed, but I will be perfectly frank in stating that I would welcome the opportunity of being one of the leaders of a political revolution whose major objective would be the emancipation of commerce and government from the dictatorial control of the despots of "High Finance."

Proposed Structure of Organization of the Non-Partisan League of America.

The organizing of the Non-Partisan League of America would be a relatively simple matter. The smallest unit of the Non-Partisan League would be known of as "Twenty and One." This designation means twenty members of the Non-Partisan League and one additional member, who is the head of that particular unit, making a unit of twenty-one members. The head of the "Twenty and One" unit is chosen by the majority of the members of his unit. He may or may not be the party who organized the particular unit of which he has charge. The unit is set up in squads of five, making four squads to each unit. The head of the unit designates one member of each squad as responsible for the other four members of the squad. All members of a particular "Twenty and One" unit should be voters within the ward or township or political subdivision in which the unit is registered. All communications with any particular unit of "Twenty and One" should be

through the leader of that unit. A call for a mass meeting of the Non-Partisan League members within a particular district would reach the leaders of all of the units of "Twenty and One" and they in turn would communicate with the squad leaders of their unit. In this way a very rapid means of communication to all members of the Non-Partisan League would be possible.

When five units of "Twenty and one" have become organized within any ward or relative political subdivision, then those five units of "Twenty and One" may form themselves into a company. The five leaders of each of the units may then elect a company leader. If such leader should be drawn from the membership of the five "Twenty and One" units, the place left vacant by him in his particular unit would then be filled by a new member, selected by the leader of that particular "Twenty and One" unit.

The next division of the Non-Partisan League of America would be a regiment composed of ten companies. The leaders of the ten companies would then convene in meeting and elect the head of the regiment. This regiment head would then be responsible to over a thousand voters who were members of the Non-Partisan League, and registered as members of his regiment. The members of this regiment of League voters would receive all official information of state and national character pertaining to the Non-Partisan League through this regiment leader and they in turn would communicate to him through the leader of their unit of "Twenty and One" and he in turn would communicate with the leader of his particular company. The leader of the company would then carry the communication on to the head of the regiment.

State organizations would constitute national divisions. The heads of the divisions would establish the national executive committee, and the national committee would select the person who would function as the national head of the Non-Partisan League of America.

It is my opinion that the members of the respective "Twenty and One" units should not be of mixed sex. The "Twenty and One" units should be organized as women units and as men

units. I believe this policy should govern even to the assembly of the companies which consist of five "Twenty and One" units. The regiments could be of mixed sex.

The reason that I am making this suggestion is an important one. Any political procedure of a revolutionary nature is bound to draw fire in various forms of vicious political attacks. At various times certain political opponents of the Non-Partisan League will employ illegal intimidating methods, even to the extent of threatening violence to the members of the League. At such times the male units can be quickly formed and prepared to meet any illegal and vicious intimidating tactics of opponents of the League organization.

The best method for preventing violence on the part of opponents is to keep convincingly before them that the Non-Partisan League organization is so formed that it can at all times protect itself against illegal practices and will not hesitate to do so when the political rights of its members call for protection against illegal intimidation. I know the game of the criminal elements in the political organizations of this country, and my advice to all decent and honest citizens who may determine upon drastic political endeavor to correct the evils within our economic system is that they plan at the start to be prepared at all times to put their heel down on the mob spirit, whenever and wherever it appears. I want to state here that I have never known of a political mob leader who was not a moral coward and generally being of that calibre was pretty yellow all the way through. The very fact that he stoops to mob leading shows plainly his yellow nature. This being true, the mob which follows him is actuated entirely by its leader's capacity for courage. It therefore follows that the mob itself is pretty definitely tied together by a yellow streak.

Working along this theory in the Northwest a decade ago, when I was leading the World War Veterans Vigilantes, I proceeded to instruct all of those who were working with me to keep constantly exhibited a strong right arm behind a hard clinched fist, to be swung at any time that it was necessary, to the jaw of mob leaders and their followers. My theories as to the cowardice of mob leaders and their followers proved in

every instance in the Northwest to be correct. Never once did our organization find it necessary to resort to violence in subduing the mob spirit.

If the Non-Partisan League of America, such as I have proposed, is organized in widely spread sections of the country, it should take on the character of an organization which will insist on and have the constitutional rights of our citizens—the right of Freedom of Speech and Peaceful Assembly, and Freedom of Press, for the purpose of promoting definite understanding of the various political issues before the nation. The Non-Partisan League should demand and must have these three cardinal rights, and in order to be fair and prove its sincerity in demanding these things for itself, it should see to it that all of its opponents at all times and at all proper places enjoy these rights. It has been said by some great hearted man in the past: "I am opposed to all that you advocate, yet I would fight unto death for your right to advocate it."

That is the spirit of the good sport and a real citizen in political action. Those of us who may find ourselves members of a revolutionary political organization must never forget that it will be our duty to listen respectfully to the political arguments of our opponents, and by the same token we will insist upon the same respect being shown our members by our opponents. Wide-open public debates by our political opponents should always be encouraged, but peaceful assembly is extremely essential at all times if the voters of all sides of the question are to have the best possible understanding of the matters under debate.

When the Non-Partisan League of America develops through the land, as I hope it will, let it be recognized as a friendly organization and fair at all times to its political opponents. If the Non-Partisan League's political doctrines can be beaten in open public debate by the opponents of such doctrines, then the League members must gracefully accept defeat. The same rule must govern those who oppose the political theories of the League. Guaranteed Freedom of Speech and Peaceful Assembly and Freedom of the Press to all of our citizens, irrespective of their affiliation with any of the various

political groups, will bring a high order of national confidence. Let every true American bend every effort in insisting upon these constitutional rights being vigorously defended at all times and in all places. Back in the Colonial days one of the famous leaders of those times said: "If there is anything about our government, or in fact anything under the sun, which cannot stand discussion, let it crack." The man who will not approve of public debate on all public matters is a coward.

I have not gone to great extent in the outlining of the proposed structure of the Non-Partisan League of America, because I prefer to leave as much as possible of such plans to others to propose, who will be in a position to give excellent suggestions for the most efficient building up of the Non-Partisan League organization. I am advocating an organization of democratic spirit. Therefore I will practice the democratic spirit by merely making suggestions as to a general plan.

Temporarily I propose that the organization of the League be loosely formed. Any number of good citizens in any locality may take the initiative to form units, which at a later date may be incorporated into the official national organization. For instance, several persons in any town or community may set themselves up into an organizing committee for their vicinity. They may call meetings of voters and explain to them some of the suggestions which are made in this book, and discuss other similar suggestions. Then units of "Twenty and One" may be formed in all of the local precincts or wards or other political subdivisions. It seems that it would be best, though not essential, that all of the members of a respective "Twenty and One" unit be registered as voters who vote at the same poll. It would not be necessary that all of the members of a respective company vote at the same poll because the person who will be responsible for getting the voters to the poll will be the actual leader of the respective "Twenty and One" unit.

The League organization can be formed very rapidly under our program of organizing the "Twenty and One." Millions of voters may be organized under this plan, and yet the efforts would be no greater in the early period of forming than the

organizing of twenty-one voters. When sufficient of these "Twenty and One" units have been formed in various places throughout the nation, a national convention will be called and the official national organization brought into being. Then a temporary constitution and by-laws should be established. Also a tentative political program should be decided on which should be extremely definite and touch only the fundamentals of the various political changes which the League advocates.

At least until the national organization of the Non-Partisan League of America is actually organized, there should be no membership fees established for the various units of "Twenty and One." No financing will be necessary until the national convention is called, other than the financing of the actual expenses of the respective "Twenty and One" units. Such expenses should not amount to a great sum and may be met through donations of the members of each unit. I would recommend that there be no membership fee required at any time. The League should not attempt to buy its way. It should be an organization where every member is taught to vigorously work with and for the purposes of the organization.

In order that there may be a registration of each of the "Twenty and One" units during the preliminary organizing of the Non-Partisan League of America, I have arranged for the filing and the identity of all units which may be formed, prior to the calling of a national convention for the purpose of forming the national organization. It is my opinion that there should be at least five thousand registered units of the "Twenty and One" in existence before the national convention is called.

I suggest that the delegates to such convention be selected as follows: One delegate for each five registered "Twenty and One" units. In order for this delegate to be officially selected and recognized at the convention, it will be necessary that five registered "Twenty and One" units meet together and by a vote of majority decide on the person who will represent them as a delegate at the national convention of the Non-Partisan League of America. The respective units of "Twenty and One" will under no circumstances be allowed to vote for more than one delegate. This rule must be preserved and will be, because

each unit of "Twenty and One" will be registered by number and the numbers of each unit will be checked against delegates carrying credentials to the national convention. Any group who will form a unit of "Twenty and One" may have such unit registered as follows: All of the members of the unit of "Twenty and One" shall go before a notary public and sign their names in the presence of such notary public. They shall make known at that time whom they have selected as the leader of their unit. On the paper which they sign must be this statement or its equivalent: "We, the undersigned, have formed a unit of 'Twenty and One' consisting of twenty-one members. We desire to register our unit of 'Twenty and One' with the organizing committee of the proposed National Non-Partisan League of America. We herewith name the person whom we have selected as the leader of our respective unit of 'Twenty and One.'" (A space should be provided for the unit leader's name on the unit's application for registration.)

The unit leader will receive the notice of registration for his respective unit and such other notices as may be sent out from time to time prior to the organizing of the national organization of the League. The name and address of the leader should be accurately printed on the application for registration. When the application has been signed by all of the members in the presence of a notary public, then the notary public shall sign same and impress his seal thereon. The registration application should then be mailed to the **Organizing Committee of the Non-Partisan League of America, 4 South Street, Stamford, Connecticut.** When the application reaches the Organizing Committee it will be placed in the files, and a certificate of registration will be forwarded immediately to the "Twenty and One" unit which has made application for such registration.

The Organizing Committee will function until the national convention is called for the official forming of the Non-Partisan League of America. The Organizing Committee will call the national convention for the purpose of officially forming the national organization whenever they receive applications for registration of "Twenty and One" units, totaling five thousand. Post cards will be mailed out from time to time to the

registered units acquainting them of the progress being made in registrations.

Successful revolutionary movements are generally movements which spring up suddenly, becoming powerful quickly through the rapidly increasing numbers of their members. Mostly all successful revolutionary movements have been of spontaneous nature and have moved swiftly toward their objectives. It is my desire to aid, if possible, in the development of sufficient power in a political revolutionary movement to constructively aid the Congress of the United States which will convene the first part of December of this year, 1931. It is certain that the President and the Congress will be far apart in their political intentions. It is also certain that the Republican Party machine organization and the Democratic Party machine organization will spend most of their energies in efforts attempting to embarrass their political opponents rather than in constructive legislation by the Congress.

The nation needs swift congressional decisions if we are to meet successfully the economic emergency which is confronting us. Long political debates in Congress, based upon partisan expediency rather than service to the nation, should be vigorously tabooed by the voting citizens who are organized for political revolution. Destructive party politics should not be tolerated in the next Congress by the voting citizens of this nation, and such vicious political tactics of partisan politicians in the Congress of the United States can only be met next winter by a vigorous militant political revolutionary organization such as I am proposing in the organizing of the Non-Partisan League of America.

Units of "Twenty and One" in vast numbers should be organized immediately. A national convention should be called in the Fall of 1931. That is, this coming Fall, the Non-Partisan League of America should be brought into existence, and at the same time a fundamental political platform decided upon and a national legislative committee of the Non-Partisan League of America placed in Washington, prior to the convening of the next Congress. The Non-Partisan League's National Legislative Committee would work through the next Congress

for a definite solution to the present economic crisis and future national economic policies. The 1932 campaign should find the Non-Partisan League of America strongly organized and at the polls in 1932 the Non-Partisan League of America should dominate in casting the majority of votes.

All of the political program which the League may map out can not be gained in the election in 1932. The revolutionary program will undoubtedly have to be carried through to the 1934 elections. The principle objectives of the Non-Partisan League of America should be gained in the elections of 1932 and 1934. It is my opinion that no revolutionary political organization can expect to continue as a high powered, militant, successful organization over a long period of years. It must organize quickly, decide on the major and fundamental policies which it will strive for and then move swiftly to those objectives. Gaining them it should disband, leaving as soon as possible political tranquility in the minds of the voters of the nation.

The Creator of the Universe has provided boundless resources on earth for the comforts of the whole human race. The Creator has been exceptionally liberal to the people who live on the continent of North America. There is on earth an abundance of everything which human beings could desire, except intelligence. What a mockery our social orders are! Hundreds of millions or more bushels of wheat than we know what to do with and at the same time scores of millions of people without the necessary subsistence of life. With iron and copper and aluminum, gold and silver and platinum, etc.—countless millions of square miles of rich agricultural lands—with millions of square miles of standing timber—with billions and billions of gallons of excess crude oil fairly blowing itself out of the ground—with the endless food resources available in the seas—with countless millions of necessary things to be done—awaiting the hand of man—midst all of this we find dominating and controlling and mocking us all, the spirit of the hog—the spirit of ignorance—the curse of man—selfishness and greed. It is almost beyond belief that the masses of human beings throughout the world bend their knees and their

backs in reverence to a few selfish men who demand the right to rule as despots because they have through some twist of fate obtained control of a foolish credit system, built upon the puny schemes of little men.

From the minds of great men and women have not come the vicious selfish credit schemes. Such vicious scheming has developed in the minds of the selfish and ignorant. Big men and women have developed the knowledge of the use of fire and the use of water and the conversion of its weight into electrical energy—the knowledge which permits the wings of man to speed around the world in less than nine days—the knowledge which brought forth the telegraph and then the telephone, and now the radio, and next the television—the knowledge which brought forth the log, then the canoe, the sailing vessel and then greater sailing vessels and then steam-driven vessels, and then the great steel servants of man which under his controling hand rush across the oceans at tremendous speed.

The great brains of great people have given us the steam engine, the electric dynamos and the motors, the electric lights, the reapers, the binders, and the countless other wonderful agricultural machines, the methods for crushing of stone and the mixing of ingredients which surface our highways, the sanitary developments, and millions of other marvelous inventions and achievements, and perhaps the greatest of all—medical and surgical science.

The capabilities in the minds of men for creating wonders are limited only by the vicious spirit of the hog. The Creator of the Universe gave to us all of the necessary resources for moulding with our own hands a heaven here on earth. The human race has but itself to blame for the hell which it accepts at the hands of selfish and ignorant financial despots. Despots have no rights other than those which they have written for themselves. Blot out their wrongs! Blot out their laws! The telegraph, the telephone, the cables, the radio, the airplanes, the railways, the steamships, and others means of communication now makes it entirely possible for the people of the whole world to understand each other. What excuse there may have been in the past for ignorance does not exist today. We are

plagued by our own apathy to dare. America has a great chance—she must take it—she must lead!

I am not mistaken in the belief that in the American people lies the strength to meet and master the present economic crisis. I am human, and therefore must certainly be mistaken in some of my other opinions expressed in this book, but for the most part I believe that my judgment is sound. Much practical experience has taught me that none of us can accurately weigh the worth of our own opinions. The most accurate opinions are useless and without value until they may be expressed courageously. The preponderance of American voters have been silent for years. They must now with courage and confidence speak openly and direct.

America needs now all of the help—all of the patriotism—and all of the sacrifices which her true citizens can bestow on the altar of good government. None of us as lone individuals are of any great value. We can only work for and gain great and good things through our collective efforts. We are at the best mere creatures, riding this globe which we call earth, as it spins through the misty pages of time. To each of us at the most is given but a flash in the period of time to play our part in the game of life. Every tombstone in every graveyard is the undeniable evidence that yours and my chance to play in the game of life will soon be over. Everything worth while to us and those immediately around us in our families must be gained, if they are honestly to be achieved, through the co-operation of each of us with our fellow-citizens. Such co-operation always takes on the character of a game—a clean game. We are not starting that game. It has been with real men since the beginning of time. Only in clean playing can the fullest enjoyment of the game be ours, and then again I say, it is the greatest and the sportiest game in the world. It is the only game which never ends. It has given the people of the world a billion thrills. As time goes on the moves are increasing and the speed of the game is swifter. It advances all society; it keeps the whole world expectant and yet surprised. This game is—Progress. It can be safely recommended to all who hope for the fullest measure of enjoying life.

Greetings, fellow citizen, here is my hand—the emergency is great—but America is greater and as a friend will lead the world to better days for all people.

From Lincoln's Speech at Lewiston, August 17th, 1858.

"Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the revolution. Think nothing of me—take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever—but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence—you may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I do claim to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every petty and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A DECLARATION OF WAR

High Finance Racketeers,
Partisan Political Machine Gangsters,
Criminals Wearing the Cloak of Judges,
Political Henchmen,
Industrial Criminals,
Fake Labor Leaders,
Agricultural Raw Food and Commodity Market Gamblers,
Industrial Securities Market Manipulators and Gamblers,
Gun Men,
Criminals in General:—

Decent American citizens now class all of you above as racketeers. Whether gun-men of the underworld or dictators in "High Finance" or political gangsters sitting high in the affairs of the Government, you are all racketeers to be detested. Your empire Gangdom must be destroyed. Your empire is not an accepted substitute for the original intended constitutional government of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. You and your empire are foreign to the principles of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Mothered and fed by the liberties which were established by America's democratic society you have destroyed much of the foundation of that society. You have tumbled down around us the blocks of our legal government, but from beneath these tumbled blocks again now sprout the limbs of liberty and decency fed through their roots anchored securely in the breast of our country.

We will build again America as intended by Washington and Jefferson.

She has not succumbed to your empire. She has awakened and within the next eighteen months will wipe you out. If I did not believe so I would not dare to write and publish this book.

I have been told by many that this book cannot be published and sold when opposed by political and financial gangdom.

I am, through the Non-Partisan League Publishing Co., Inc., issuing two thousand copies of this book as a test of your strength and as a test of the Americans who will meet you on the field of battle, which will be, I hope, a field covered with ballot boxes instead of guns. But in either case of action on that field of battle you will be the vanquished.

Each of the first two thousand copies of this book will be numbered and recorded and each will be signed by me. I assume the personal responsibility for the issuing of this book.

If you believe you can stop the sale of this book through resorting to libel suits, then come on. But if you do we will pull you and many of your kindred from high positions down before the juries of common citizens whose trust you have so ruthlessly violated. Try and win before such maddened juries.

If through some criminal judge you dare to use injunctions for political expediency against the sale of this book, then is the time for you to remember this—before this book is issued to the general public it will be in the hands of at least fourteen United States

Senators who are your pledged enemies. It will also be in the hands of many others, whose public prestige you will not dare to meet. There will be war in the next Congress.

Injunctions now against the freedom of speech and press will be like attempting to extinguish fire with gasoline. Bring on your injunctions if you dare. We will load them with political dynamite and hurl them back in your faces.

If you fail to stop the sale of this book now, then new issues of hundreds of thousands of this book will be released throughout the nation.

Racketeers, high and low, with your guns and your treacherous political and commercial actions, you have initiated this war which you cannot finish. Decent citizens will now accelerate the war which you have started and they will finish you.

The Non-Partisan League principles of political action whipped many of your rotten kind in the Northwest a decade ago. The pity is that the Non-Partisan League program was not then extended nation-wide. America could have been saved the misery and the shame brought upon her by your dishonest and despicable element.

Again the Non-Partisan League comes forth to take control of the major political parties. This time the effort will be nation-wide. This time the whole world will view here in America, a colossal, dynamic political spectacle which will kindle anew the hopes of the citizens and bring into being a new-born confidence in society everywhere.

LESTER P. BARLOW.